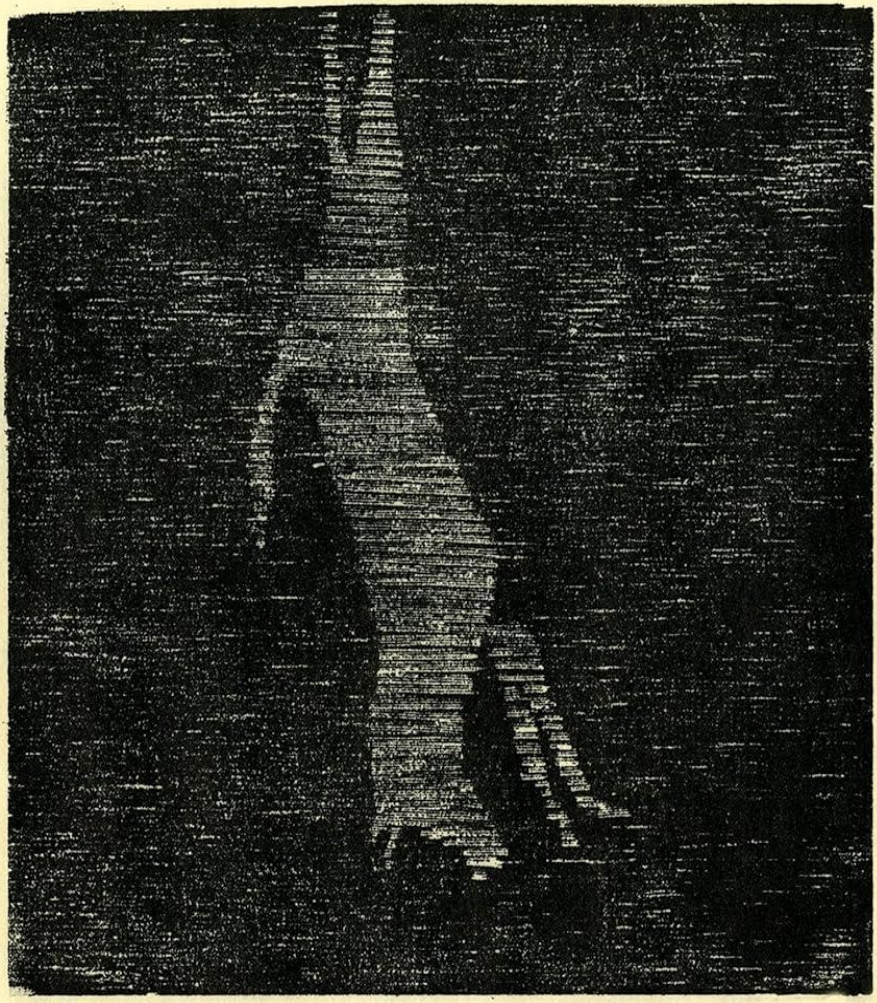

FACING FEAR

The History of an Emotion in Global Perspective

MICHAEL LAFFAN AND MAX WEISS, EDS.

PRINCETON
UNIVERSITY

Facing Fear

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The History of an Emotion in Global Perspective

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Contents

Preface vii

Introduction: Fear and Its Opposites in the History of Emotions
MAX WEISS 1

1 Fear of the Thirty Years War
DAVID LEDERER 10

2 Conceptions of Terror in the European Enlightenment
RONALD SCHECHTER 31

3 "When Fear Rather than Reason Dominates": Priests behind the Lines in the Tupac Amaru Rebellion (1780–83)
CHARLES WALKER 54

4 Fear in Colonial California and within the Borderlands
LISBETH HAAS 74

5 Weimar Cinema between Hypnosis and Enlightenment
ANDREAS KILLEN 91

6 Italian Fascism's Wartime Enemy and the Politics of Fear
MARLA STONE 114

7 The Persecuted Body: Evangelical Internationalism, Islam, and the Politics of Fear
MELANI MCALISTER 133

8 Danger, Media, and the Urban Experience in Delhi
RAVI SUNDARAM 162

9 Fear of the Past: Post-Soviet Culture and the Soviet Terror
ALEXANDER ETKIND 183

10 White Hajjis: Dutch Islamophobias Past and Present
MICHAEL LAFFAN 202

Notes 217

Contributors 265

Index 267

Preface

Fear is everywhere, it is measurable, and it is reportable. Or so the viewer is apprised in countless media broadcasts designed to draw one in to the latest fragmentary and predigested roundup of global news. Such certainty about an omnipresent and scalable emotion seems to accord with the consensus of the analyses now available that ruminate on the supposed failure of the Enlightenment project to free us from so elemental a condition. As Jan Plamper has noted, fear sells, and this marketability, which apparently reflects the daily concerns of the modern consumer, meshes with Zygmunt Bauman's observation that we choose stubbornly to fear everything, from the weather to strangers and even our own memories. Life surely abounds in peril, and terrors can be racked up, one upon the other, to create a hierarchy of worry to be treated both by the technicians of modernity—particularly the psychoanalysts and insurance agents whose industries are examined by Joanna Bourke—and by the more traditional religious mechanics of destiny.[1]

Even if it is experienced in the present moment, one might argue that fear is inherently of the future; that it is the pervading sense of uncertainty about an inherently unknowable condition that could potentially visit pain on the body or loss of what one holds dear. As a result the modern subject is potentially rendered utterly insecure, perhaps more so than her/his ancestors. After all, it has even been observed that the states that can claim the most sophisticated security systems are those that identify the greatest number of threats.[2] Yet has it always been thus? If the Enlightenment was supposed, by the inculcation of universal reason, to free everyone from fear and thus remove the Divine as an imagined agent of history (which so clearly has not happened), then how different have the fears of the past been? Is the overwhelming and constantly reiterated Islamophobia of today the same as that of previous epochs? And how, and indeed whom, might we fear in times to come?

These seemed but a few of the potential questions to be posed when, in October of 2006 and under the direction of Gyan Prakash, the Shelby Cullom Davis Center for Historical Studies issued a call for applications from scholars working on the subject of fear in all its manifestations. Over the course of the 2007–8 academic year, a wide-ranging set of conversations explored specific histories of fear in various settings. In many instances the discussions did indeed proceed from debates over the meaning of

Enlightenment claims to free the individual from the fears born of ignorance, superstition, and perhaps even religion itself. Moreover it became clear how such fears were often invested in the body, or visualizations of bodies that transcended the individual to include the formative nation-states of which she or he was a member. With this transition in mind we found it fruitful to move the discussion toward how fear could be rationalized, mobilized, or even visualized by the state and its agents as a naturally chaotic enemy of order and, consequently, of the future.

Of course this set of conversations hardly developed in isolation, and there are already numerous works that offer different perspectives on what, how, and why we have feared. The aim of this volume is both to build upon and connect with those other works, and perhaps serve as a somewhat broader discussion of the topic for those interested in the intersections of emotionology and history. The contributions that were generated from our discussions, presented chronologically, provide snapshots of histories and historically laden presents in which fear has played a decidedly powerful role. We commence with David Lederer's recounting, by way of the contents of sometimes garishly illustrated broadsheets, of how early modern German literati envisioned their nation as a monstrously deformed beast, while commoners of the period anticipated possible starvation or penury and reflected on the bloody executions and tortures so often witnessed during their childhoods. Contrasted with this last gasp of the Old Order in Europe, Ronald Schechter shows that fear, or more specifically Terror, was not simply cast as a doomed condition to be banished by hope, but rather was conceptualized in Enlightenment discourse as a tool to be deployed by the rational overseer, and in ways akin to those of great princes past that were to be no less shocking to the populace.

Fear can have a convenient past too. In Charles Walker's chapter, set far from the domains of the *philosophes* but in the same Age of Revolution, we learn how clergy suspected of collaboration with the Peruvian rebel Tupac Amaru II (1742–1781) resorted to claiming that their apparently treacherous actions had been motivated solely by fear—a situation reluctantly allowed under Canon Law. For her part, Lisbeth Haas suggests that Spanish missionaries in the California borderlands a few decades later tried to mask their incomprehension of indigenous responses to their presence by ascribing fear to them, even as she contends that the Indians themselves appear to have come to celebrate the fears of their conquerors as a means of valorizing their own resistance.

If anything, the first four chapters contribute to a discussion of fear, rationality, and religion in the absence of modern technologies now seen as essential to its projection or aversion. In our first foray into the emergent embrace of film, mass suggestion, and fear in the twentieth century, Andreas Killen opens his account with a Nazi censor's assessment of Fritz

Lang's *Dr. Mabuse*, whose hypnotic powers were perceived as having the potential to break down rational social order in Germany. Such images were all the more terrifying, it seems, because they were projected via a medium that was deemed hypnotically subversive in and of itself, having been deployed in a society awash with itinerant, Caligari-esque hypnotists who had cut their teeth on the ranks of traumatized veterans of the Great War. Still, as Killen closes his account, it is clear that this medium offered as much promise as peril. Similar themes may be seen in Marla Stone's exploration of how and what faithful Italians who had embraced the cinema were expected to fear when a state desired them to do so. In her case moviegoers—while doubtless optimistic of a hopeful resolution to films about the recent Spanish Civil War of 1936–39—would find their particular fears for social disorder embodied in the disheveled and merciless Soviet officer, a figure who some might argue only briefly displaced the beturbaned jihadist and his veiled counterpart. Such a transition is explored by Melani McAlister, who writes the history of the U.S. evangelical movement that embraced rights talk in the 1990s while simultaneously engaging with a global(ized) Christian body that was viscerally encouraged to fear Islam in much the same way the Communist enemy had once been feared, in hopes of thus combating and similarly defeating it.

From these mediations we then move rapidly to two different sites of fear and imagination. First we have the apparent chaos of a modern Delhi that defied the prescriptions of colonial and postcolonial planners. Ravi Sundaram demonstrates how the urban cacophony has been rendered as a fertile playground for hybrid animals of the imagination, or yet machines able to deal out yet more fear in an already confusing nexus of apparent disorder that had defeated modern planners set on vanquishing the unruly (or indeed the monstrous).[3]

Monsters, meanwhile, are a prominent feature in the popular culture of post–Soviet Russia as excavated by Alexander Etkind. Taking a rather different approach influenced by film studies and psychoanalytic theory, Etkind argues that the memories, or ostensible memories, of the gulag, and of lost parents and grandparents, are yet to be settled by memorials, and walk the earth instead in the form of the Freudian uncanny, sometimes even as zombies combated at times by the lycanthropes that were so feared by the subjects of David Lederer's contribution. Regardless of the manner of its representation in so many books and films, however, Etkind argues that such fear is as much of a future repetition of the past as it is a function of memory.

In the final chapter of the volume I offer my own *longue* perspective on the culture of Islamophobia in the Netherlands, a modern European nation not-so-long sundered from "its" India, or *Nederlandsch Indië*, as Indonesia was once known to its Atlantic colonizers. I argue that by more

forcefully situating the seemingly transcended colonial past within the all-too-threatening present, one understands how Islam creates a Dutch sense of the uncanny, even as many regard the dress and imagined thoughts of their fellow citizens as inexorably alien.

Taken as a whole, then, these essays cover a great deal of ground and time, generating conversations that both topically and disciplinarily cross-pollinate. As should be the case with edited volumes, these essays can be read in any order to set up other parallels of experience and interpretation. What truly matters, though, is that we can gain some small insight into pasts whose experiences still resonate with us today.

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The editors wish to express their deepest appreciation here to the successive directors of the Davis Center, Gyan Prakash and Dan Rodgers, for having brought together the contributors in the first place and then for offering unstinting advice to bring this project to fruition. Thanks are certainly due too to our colleagues at Princeton, to the ever amenable staff of the Department of History and the Davis Center (especially Jennifer Houle, Carla Zimowsk, and Brooke Fitzgerald), to the board of Princeton University Press, and to the reviewers of the work, who made it clear what was needed to cut to the chase, and indeed what to cut altogether. We are also profoundly indebted to Jan Plamper, who went beyond the call of most reviewers and offered rich and helpful insights derived from his parallel project on interdisciplinary perspectives on fear, which is due out from the University of Pittsburgh Press shortly.

Michael Laffan

Facing Fear

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Introduction

FEAR AND ITS OPPOSITES IN THE HISTORY OF EMOTIONS

MAX WEISS, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

What has been written on fear across the broad sweep of human history might seem to be as vast, as multidimensional, and yet also as basic as the emotion itself. Be that as it may, and perhaps because of the extent of the literature and the presumed elemental quality of the emotion, there have been far fewer attempts to systematically catalog or track the manifold discourses on and of fear that have been produced over time. In what follows I will draw on a few samples from the history of philosophical, political, and cultural inquiry into the "problem" of fear, in the process demonstrating that those who have spilled substantial amounts of ink tackling the issue cannot be said to agree on its content, its form, or—in terms that are relevant to the concrete meanings of the idea—its opposites.

One fruitful approach to the history of emotions—as in the history of ideas and mentalités, and in cultural and intellectual history more generally—has been the philological. Tracking the use and transformation of terms, phrases, and discourses on and about the emotions is one effective means of identifying social, cultural, and linguistic markers of emotional life in the past. To the extent that the historian of emotions is interested in ideas, however, there is always the danger, attested by the intellectual historian Quentin Skinner, of losing sight of the larger contextual forest. What this means, at least for Skinner, is that "if we wish to understand a given idea, even within a given culture and at a given time, we cannot simply concentrate…on studying the forms of words involved."[1] This point seems even more significant in light of the fact that, as the wide-ranging linguistic, geographical, and historical contexts discussed in this volume attest, the semantics of fear words are quite diverse. Although the histories of fear included here rest upon broad and deep knowledge of the particular language(s) (in text and image, film and speech) of emotion in their respective world-historical contexts, they demonstrate the continuing relevance of Skinner's simple yet profound insight into the relationship

between text and context in the history of ideas, and, it might be added, in the zone where both social and cultural history intersect with the history of ideas. In the remainder of this introduction, I would like to briefly sketch out some of the lineaments of the history and philosophy of emotion as it pertains to the problem of fear. In the process, my aim is to shed some light on the particular value of the essays included in *Facing Fear* insofar as they provide historical context to the skeletal history of fear (and terror, and anxiety, and panic) in its more limited guise as the history of an idea. To be sure, this introduction is by no means comprehensive and will only be able to touch upon a few, select instances.

In his far-reaching discussion of human experience, Spinoza does not contrast fear to its absence, which might be thought of as confidence or assurance, but rather makes a future-focused distinction between fear and hope. For Spinoza, "when we think that a certain thing which is yet to come is good and that it can happen, the soul assumes, in consequence of this, that form which we call *hope*, which is nothing else than a certain kind of joy, though mingled with some sorrow." By contrast, "on the other hand, if we judge that that which may be coming is bad, then that form enters into our soul which we call *fear*."[2] In light of the fact that temporality has been given extensive attention in much of the literature on the emotions in general, it is less interesting to note here that Spinoza situates hope in the future tense than it is to consider some of the arguments why fear ought to be located there as well. As we find in the contribution from Melani McAlister, Islamophobia is often activated within global Protestant evangelical networks as one means of fulminating and militating against a potentially dystopic future. Meanwhile, in his meditation on the ghostly Stalinist past in contemporary Russian culture, Alexander Etkind engages in a more personal exercise in hope as a means of warding off the resurrection of historical fears. Fear in the Spinozan futuristic sense requires a kind of sentience on the part of the subject, a particular experience of temporality that is (ostensibly) limited to human beings. A rather more materialist (and perhaps also reductionist) perspective on the emotions might position fear in the present, in terms of such biological responses as the fight-or-flight impulse, to name just one possibility.[3]

This sort of biological determinism in theorizing the emotions is most often associated with Charles Darwin, who is rightly identified as an essential innovator in the modern study of emotions. His conception of emotion is made quite clear in his brief discussion of fear and terror as embodied experience, one that is comprehensible even across the human-animal divide. In fact, for Darwin, the terms themselves—fear, terror, dread—are ostensibly traceable to "what is sudden and dangerous" and "the trembling of the vocal organs and body," respectively: "Fear is often preceded by astonishment, and is so far akin to it, that both lead to the senses of sight

and hearing being instantly aroused. In both cases the eyes and mouth are widely opened, and the eyebrow raised. The frightened man at first stands like a statue motionless and breathless, or crouches down as if instinctively to escape observation."[4] This physiological commonality purportedly linking man to other animals with respect to emotional experience is not only identified in terms of the actual states of being afraid, but is held up as evidence of deeper evolutionary connections. "We may likewise infer," Darwin wrote, "that fear was expressed from an extremely remote period, in almost the same manner as it now is by man; namely, by trembling, the erection of the hair, cold perspiration, pallor, widely opened eyes, the relaxation of most of the muscles, and by the whole body cowering downwards or held motionless."[5] This argument raises interesting questions about the human-animal boundary, but might also create some problems for historians because of its unabashed ahistoricality. Natural history of this kind may allow for change over evolutionary time, but it fails to account for smaller-scale changes in the quality of emotional experience, to say nothing of the existence or emergence of local variations.[6]

The move away from biological determinism in the social sciences and the humanities, however, did not necessarily spell the demise of certain reductive interpretations of the nature of the emotions. For all its liberatory potential, Liberal philosophy reaches some of its own limits in discussions of, for example, the emotional life.[7] "Liberalism," according to Judith N. Shklar, "has only one overriding aim: to secure the political conditions that are necessary for the exercise of personal freedom."[8] For Shklar the fullest exercise and enjoyment of personal freedom—in both its "positive" and "negative" forms, as she follows Isaiah Berlin's two concepts of liberty—"does not rest on a theory of moral pluralism," and would have to be oriented absolutely in support of all that combats and seeks to vanquish fear: "Of fear it can be said without qualification that it is universal as it is physiological. It is a mental as well as a physical reaction, and it is common to animals as well as to human beings. To be alive is to be afraid."[9] Arguing for such a universal conception of fear, in particular, and the emotions, more generally, Shklar assaults critics of Liberalism for their ostensibly wrongheaded (if not irresponsible, in her opinion) claims about Liberalism being "unhistorical and an ethnocentric view." It is the moral obligation and prime virtue, by contrast, of Liberal political philosophy to "offer the injured and insulted victims of most of the world's traditional as well as revolutionary governments a genuine and practicable alternative to their present condition."[10]

In tandem with other critiques of the blind spots of Liberal political and philosophical projects, however, there seems to be good cause here to reconsider whether such a universalizing impulse in the study of the emotions is warranted. Seeking to summarily halt any debate on the topic

of whether universalism is the solution to the world's political problems, Shklar concludes this section of her essay insisting upon the incontestable merit of rule of law promotion and strong centralized government by posing the following stark question: "Does anyone want to live in Beirut?"[11] Whether anyone would prefer to live in Beirut, particularly in the heyday of the horrific and bloody Lebanese civil wars of the 1980s when Shklar was writing, rather than an idealized and pristine liberal democracy, however, is a false choice. Regardless of the value of this rather schematic spectrum of political possibilities, an answer to the question proves to be hardly essential to the point Shklar wants to make. But the nearly incomprehensible irruption of "Beirut" here almost perfectly epitomizes the potential pitfalls of universal(izing) approaches to the problem of emotions and emotionality as much as to governance itself. Similarly, the intrusion of mythological human-animal hybrids into the thoroughly modern urban mediascape of Delhi so sharply analyzed by Ravi Sundaram suggests that universal models for the development and maintenance of Liberal political culture are far too simplistic to explain the complex transformations of human societies and cultures over time.

Shklar reifies experiences of chaos, terror, dislocation, everyday violence, and international intervention to a cipher—"Beirut"—that has little if anything to do with the physical or cultural spaces of that city. Indeed, it seems that the particular historical experience of fear among Beirutis during the 1980s, of Lebanese citizens during the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, or of the inhabitants of the Middle East for the past hundred years are of hardly any consequence. Very much to the contrary, however, these are topics that would be of particularly profound consequence and significant interest for understanding new dimensions of such regional conflicts, as well as others, to say nothing of gleaning more of the texture and variety of historical experiences in the modern Middle East. In this sense, facing the fears that were catalogued by French philosophes in the aftermath of the Revolution or experienced as spectacle by Italian cinemagoers under Fascism, discussed by Ronald Schechter and Marla Stone respectively, might serve as helpful comparative models. Shklar may be right to defend the importance of "doing no harm" to the emotional life of individuals, but the centrality of that impulse in all related philosophical, political, and historical inquiry remains an open question.

In any event, the excesses of Liberal thinkers in the study of politics and the emotions need not rule out the potential for a revitalized understanding of emotionality and political life from within the Liberal tradition. For example, Charles Taylor prudently suggests, "we can't factor emotions out of what makes for good politics, grounded in reality and moral truth, nor out of what makes for democratic politics, in which people can be brought together."[12] But emotional worlds are not all of a piece, as they are

and have been influenced by complex interrelationships of social, cultural, political, psychological, and institutional forces that historians must often reckon with in studying and writing history.[13] This is precisely why a history of fear, or, better, histories of fears—as exemplified by the variety of essays gathered together in *Facing Fear*—are useful for expanding our understanding of various dimensions of human experience, especially emotional experiences. Indeed, the infusion of historicism and greater attention to historical variation and contingency—as provided by Lisbeth Haas in relation to cultural difference within colonial encounters in the California borderlands, and through the monstrous visions of war in early modern Europe analyzed by David Lederer—could potentially help to overcome some of these limitations.

For political philosophers in the tradition exemplified by Shklar, the antidote to fear appears to be something like certainty and order, stability, routine, or security.[14] Meanwhile, modernist philosophers might identify "progress" or "disenchantment" or, to put it somewhat crudely, "modernity" as the most obvious counterpoints to, and cures for, fear. The past two decades or so have witnessed the rapid expansion of social scientific and humanistic studies of "the emotions." Although most often identified with a far more developed anthropological literature, the history of emotions, while initially recognized as one subfield of cultural or intellectual history, has decisively emerged as a full-blown field in its own right, with the explicit intention of offering deeper and more nuanced accounts of the range of human emotional experience.[15] Perhaps identifiable as far back as the work of Lucien Febvre, and then reinfused by such historians as Theodore Zeldin, Peter Stearns and Carol Z. Stearns, Barbara Rosenwein, and William Reddy, the history of emotions needs to be taken seriously not simply as an adjunct to cultural, intellectual, or social history but as a field that changes our understanding of those approaches to the past.[16] As Febvre argued seventy years ago, "reconstituting the emotional life (*la vie affective*) of a given era is a task that is both extremely seductive and terribly difficult," but one that "the historian has no right to desert."[17] In their influential article on the topic, Stearns and Stearns innovated a concept and category of analysis, namely, "emotionology": "the attitudes or standards that a society, or a definable group within a society, maintains toward basic emotions and their appropriate expression; ways that institutions reflect and encourage these attitudes in human conduct." Emotionology, then, could be contrasted to emotion itself, which they defined as "a complex set of interactions among subjective and objective factors, mediated through neural and/or hormonal systems, which gives rise to feelings (affective experiences as of pleasure or displeasure) and also general cognitive processes toward appraising the experience."[18] However reductive it may be critiqued as being, this distinction is also helpful in terms of schematizing

the relation between emotional experience and the production, regulation, or evaluation of emotionality. Regardless of whether historians choose to adopt wholesale the notion of emotionology, it is worth restating one central component of their argument, which returns to Febvre and a whole host of other historians, namely, the idea "that emotional change needs to be woven into the historical fabric seems unquestionable."[19]

With respect to fear, in particular, it could be argued that the crux of this ethnographic and historiographic interest was to be found in the simple yet powerful notion that "human fears are most efficiently understood as social phenomena."[20] The historian Joanna Bourke makes this point about the relationship between history and fear even more plainly: "History is saturated with emotions, of which fear may be one of the most relentless.… As with all emotional experiences, fear is about encounters."[21] The contributors to *Facing Fear* focus on fear in its intellectual, social, and political incarnations. This ranges from the experience of fear described by Charles Walker among eighteenth-century rebels, priests, and colonial administrators in Peru, to the technologically mediated experiences of anxiety and fear collectively felt by cinemagoers in Weimar Germany discussed by Andreas Killen. Other historians as well as political and cultural critics approach the subject of emotions through critical engagements with the problem of embodiment. In her detailed history of fear, which is primarily concerned with British and U.S. experiences, Bourke writes, "The emotion of fear is fundamentally about the body—its fleshiness and its precariousness. Fear is *felt*, and although the emotion of fear cannot be *reduced to* the sensation of fear, it is not present *without* sensation." But in order to move beyond a purely biologically determined conception of "the body," Bourke reminds us that "emotions are fundamentally *constituted*. In other words, agents are involved in creating the self in a dynamic process that, at the same time, is a 'coming into being.' In this way the body plays a role in social agency. The sensation of fear is not merely the ornament of the emotion."[22]

But the relentlessness of fear in history cannot be entirely attributed to the regularity of such frightful "encounters" or to the individual inscription and social collision of bodies. Indeed, the contemporary history of emotions literature alone does not tell the whole story of an almost obsessive level of interest in the emotions spreading throughout contemporary scholarly and intellectual culture.[23] As Sara Ahmed notes, contemporary culture is in the midst of a veritable "turn" to happiness, subsidiary in some ways to the more general "affective" or "emotional" turns but indubitably linked to those latter developments in other ways.[24] Ahmed develops some of these critical political and philosophical reflections on the turn to happiness in a recent book, *The Promise of Happiness*. The book begins with the notion of "the soft touch," a metaphor employed to denote how "the nation is made vulnerable to abuse to abuse by its very openness to others.

The soft nation is too emotional, too easily moved by the demands of others, and too easily seduced into assuming that claims for asylum, as testimonies of injury, are narratives of truth." Conversely, Ahmed identifies an "implicit demand [that] is for a nation that is less emotional, less open, less easily moved, one that is 'hard,' or 'tough.'"[25] But moving beyond the simple reduction of emotions and "emotionality" to the antithesis or junior partner of reason (*ratio*), with the multiple and variously gendered ramifications of that conceptualization, Ahmed moves from what might called the potential to the kinetic energy of emotional life. In other words, "rather than asking 'What are emotions?'" Ahmed wonders, "What do emotions do?" Consequently, Ahmed's approach does not "offer a singular theory of emotion, or one account of the work that emotions do," but rather, "track[s] how emotions circulate between bodies…[in order] to situate [her] account of the 'cultural politics' of emotion within a very partial account of the history of thinking on emotions."[26] Her interest in feminist and queer readings of emotions and affect can be read back to her earlier work on the cultural politics of emotion, in which she devoted an entire chapter to the "affective politics of fear." In her view, the politics of fear are also comprehensible within an "affective economy," one in which fear—as with other emotions, moods, and sensibilities—may "slide across signs and between bodies," suggesting the possibility of the contagiousness of fear, and of emotions more generally in a given society, culture, or system.[27]

If fear is slippery, and can slide around in this manner, it makes sense that Ahmed would identify the ways in which fear not only "shrinks the body" but also "may even allow some bodies to occupy more space through the identification with the collective body."[28] Without unnecessarily simplifying her difficult and elegant argument about the affective politics of fear, or awkwardly imposing it upon the papers that appear in this volume, it might be provisionally concluded, with Ahmed, that fear may both structure the limits of emotional discourse and practice, while also at times filling those structures with various contents of emotional experience.

More recently, the political theorist Frank Furedi attempts to move beyond the general diagnosis of "liquid" or ever-present fear in contemporary society in order to attack the root problem underlying this recognized phenomenon.[29] Rather than being restricted to certain strands of political culture, and instead of arguing that certain actors use or abuse fear as a tool more than anyone else, Furedi gestures toward something more basic, something more systemic:

> Fear has become the common currency of claims in general.… In fact the narrative of fear has become so widely assimilated that it is now self-consciously expressed in a personalized and privatized

> way.… In previous eras where the politics of fear had a powerful grasp…people rarely saw fear as an issue in its own right.…Today, however, public fears are rarely expressed in response to any specific event. Rather, the politics of fear captures a sensibility towards life in general.[30]

But this rather vague and generalized sense of uncertainty, unsettledness, or vulnerability could be articulated in terms other than fear—dread, anxiety, nausea, to name just a few. Those terms have histories of their own as well, which link up with otherwise networked concept-histories that would go beyond as simplistic and reductive a narrative as a unitary "history of fear" or "politics of fear." Therefore, although it is certainly true that "fear often serves as the foundation for public discourse," historians and other analysts of fear should be careful not to mistake moods or episodes for timeless and essential historical truths or conditions.[31] Each of the papers showcased in this volume is specifically concerned with a discrete historical moment, thereby emphasizing the variability and contingency of fears past, present, and future.

At the moment, and despite the great number of thinkers who have contrasted fear with hope (in the future tense), and although fear has often also been opposed to love or companionship along the lines of the phobic-philic dichotomy (in terms of the present), there has still not been much in the way of studying fear (and its many opposites) in the past in any great detail. There is quite a range and breadth of world-historical contexts, eras, and regions represented in this volume. But as I have only hinted in this essay, there is an unmistakable lacuna in the history of emotions literature more generally when it comes to certain world regions, most importantly Africa and the Middle East—regions regrettably absent in this book as well.[32] Be that as it may, by situating fear in world-historical terms, the contributors to this volume provide indispensable nuance to our understanding of fear, both as a conceptual term and as a category of experience. Just as anthropologists over two decades ago recognized that attending to emotions and emotionality in their ethnography would "entail presenting a fuller view of *what is at stake* for people in everyday life," in the context of both Western and non-Western societies, this approach also "might further humanize these others for the Western audience. That audience finds emotion at the core of being for reasons both cultural and political economic in origin, reasons that should simultaneously come under anthropological scrutiny. At issue is not only the humanity of our images, but the adequacy of our understanding of cultural and social forms."[33]

Many of the philosophers and historians of emotion discussed in this introduction identified counterpoints or analogues to fear, whether in the present or future tense, be that comfort, assurance, or hope. There are

surely other opposites, antonyms, or analogues that could be adduced in this connection. Taken together, this literature-in-formation on fear and the emotions, as well as its attendant constellations of keywords, could provide illuminating insights into a deeper appreciation of the value of the study of fears past. We might yet go further in order to approach the history of fear in a spirit similar to how Andrew Shryock proposes thinking about the problem of Islamophobia, "namely, to understand how the concept solves and creates problems for those who use it, why it is necessary, what alternative sensibilities it brings into relief, and what histories come embedded in the term and its usage."[34] One might invert the Islamophobe's object of fear by considering an Islamic perspective on the matter of fear, namely, that whoever knows God shall know no fear, as evinced by Qur'an 10:62: "Behold, verily the friends of God have no fear, nor shall they grieve." Without undue extrapolation, it might be further argued that those who have a healthy respect for the power of fear would seek to minimize the amount of suffering or grief that can be produced by a whole host of fears, including both the fear of others and those others' fears. Such critically self-conscious but also historicized attention to the multiple histories and genealogies of fear would not necessarily or automatically translate into hope, courage, or certainty, as some of the thinkers and historians introduced in this essay would have expected, but what might perhaps be considered the ultimate aspiration of the historian and the humanistic enterprise: understanding.

CHAPTER 1

Fear of the Thirty Years War

DAVID LEDERER, NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND MAYNOOTH

Does fear generate crisis or do crises trigger fears? The Thirty Years War can undoubtedly be described as a crisis of the highest magnitude, accompanied in Central Europe by an almost ubiquitous state of fear. Contemporaries depicted the war and its accompanying atrocities with visceral horror.[1] Any inclination to quantify their fear by cliometrically trawling through eyewitness accounts from the destruction of Magdeburg (e.g., those by Daniel Friese, a boy of twelve at the time; or the scientist and future mayor of Magdeburg Otto von Guericke; or the Protestant mercenary Georg Ackerman, who served the Catholic League under Tilly) or Friesseneger's *Chronicles* for references to shock and angst is obviated by fear's looming presence on nearly each and every page.[2] Indeed, contemporary diarists and chroniclers lamented the impossibility of describing the fears they suffered, which were either too horrible for words, would require far too many words than it would ever be possible to compose, or simply because not enough words existed in their vocabulary to adequately describe the multifarious range of their terrors.[3] Even after three centuries, fear of the Thirty Years War continues to haunt the German psyche. At the beginning of the twentieth century, mothers still threatened children with ominous tales of vicious Croatian mercenaries; as late as 1962, rural Hessians responding to a government questionnaire still ranked the Thirty Years War as first among German catastrophes, ahead of the Second World War, the Nazi reign of terror, the Black Death, and the First World War.[4]

In an attempt to address the relationship between fears and crises on the basis of the example of the Thirty Years War, we might consider how the first European total war evoked a universal fear response. We can also point to expressions of preexisting apocalyptic fears in the material context of a long-term crisis. Therefore, my present interest lies chiefly in the identification and analysis of both universal and traditional elements in contemporary portrayals of fear aroused by the specific events of the war itself. Taken altogether, the present analysis suggests that the linchpin of the relationship between crises and fear during the Thirty Years War was

their literal embodiment by contemporary political culture and a peculiar understanding of history.

Understanding the relationship of fears to crises holds special significance in this case, since historians used to regard the Thirty Years War as one manifestation of the so-called General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century. After several decades, the crisis debate became mired over its nature (i.e., as an economic conjuncture, a constitutional crisis related to innovations in military technology, a social struggle between the nobility and the parvenus, or part of the structural shift from feudalism to capitalism) and fell out of fashion in the 1990s. However, a recent forum in the *American Historical Review* puts it back on our agenda, featuring a keynote article by Geoffrey Parker.[5] Parker figured among the earliest and most vocal proponents of the Crisis of the Seventeenth Century as an interpretive model. In its current incarnation, he embellishes crisis theory with data emerging from climatic history on the impact of the Little Ice Age, effectively adding a global/empirical dimension to an originally Eurocentric social-historical explanation. The immediacy of the twenty-first-century scientific debate over climate change resonates throughout his argument for adding the Little Ice Age as an integral component of the Seventeenth-Century Crisis, endowing Parker's provocative renovation of crisis theory with new life.

Most relevant to our current inquiry into the relationship between fears and crises are the concluding remarks to the aforementioned *AHR* forum offered by J. B. Shank. Etymologically, Shank unmasks "crisis" as an ancient Greek medical term reintroduced into contemporary parlance by humanist physicians during the Renaissance to describe a serious trauma to the body. Only gradually did it shed its original medical meaning and evolve into modern usage, at first metaphorically, as a depiction of social tensions. Shank expresses grave reservations about forensic methods adopted by historians and masquerading as natural science.[6] As he astutely points out:

> Among those assumptions [i.e., historical consensus after 1954 on the Seventeenth-Century Crisis—DL] was the idea that historical entities akin to the human body existed in the past (in this case an entity called "seventeenth-century society"), and that these entities could be objects of scientific historical analysis. Also assumed was the applicability of the conceptual tools used by medical science to understand health in human bodies (in this case "crisis theory") when trying to understand the cognate objects of historical science (in this case "seventeenth-century society").[7]

In other words, Shank criticizes the epistemological implications of historians applying medical terminology to history. Usage of the loan-word implies an objective and factual credibility usually reserved for the natural sciences (though Shank expresses misgivings with the latter presumption as well). More to our point, he begs the question whether any society

possesses enough of an organic life cycle to bear comparisons to the human body at all. Let's now test this.

Crisis Embodied

Shank's critique of the application of a Greek medical expression to a twentieth-century debate over the General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century notwithstanding, one can actually argue that seventeenth-century contemporaries may have been more comfortable with the term than perhaps we should be. Even if the word "crisis" seldom, if ever, appeared directly in their writings per se, early modern Europeans regularly depicted their society as a body that could suffer trauma. As a macrocosm of human nature, it was theoretically ensouled and able to experience emotions like fear. During the Thirty Years War, the body politic often appeared twisted, contorted, or monstrous in form, illustrative of a fearful condition affecting society as a whole.

For example, nearly two decades after the Peace of Westphalia, in 1667 the historian and political philosopher Samuel Pufendorf (1632–1694) wrote *De statu Imperii Germanici*.[8] Vexed by terrible childhood memories of the war, he remained anxious about the health of the Holy Roman Empire. Like many contemporaries, Pufendorf embodied society and ascribed particular ailments to it. In chapter 6, "Of the form of the German Empire," he commented on the physiognomy of its body politic:

> As the health of natural bodies, and the strength and ability of artificial composures results from the harmony of their parts and their connexion or union with one another, so also moral bodies or societies are to be esteemed strong or weak, as the parts of which they are composed, are found well or ill formed and united together, and consequently as the intire form or whole of them are elegantly or irregularly and disorderly formed and united.[9]

An enlightened interest in natural law prompted Pufendorf to rationally dissect the imperial body politic and the normalcy of its constitution. Frustratingly, he sought to isolate the character of its government. Despite the free cities, he noted, the empire deviated in form from a democratic commonwealth. And in spite of the authority of the electors to choose their own sovereign, subordination to the emperor subsequently deprived them of oligarchic status. Finally, although the emperor personified the titular head of the body politic, his elective succession deprived him of regular or even limited dynastic rights.

Horrified by the forensic evidence, Pufendorf arrived at his disturbing diagnosis of deformity in the political body: "There is now nothing left for us to say, but that Germany is an irregular body and like some mis-shapen

monster (*Germaniam esse irregulare aliquod corpus et monstro simile*), if it be measured by the common rules of politicks and civil prudence." He digressed briefly to vent an anti-Habsburg spleen, blaming the empire's woes on the house of Austria. Nonetheless, Pufendorf patriotically rebuked past appeals for invasive surgery through foreign intervention as an unsound solution to imperial malaise.[10]

The terrible war had proven to him how the irregularity of the empire's constitution "affords the matter of an inextricable and incurable disease and many internal convulsions," leading to degeneracy and corruption—terms borrowed from religious and medical parlance linking moral and bodily decay. Appropriately, the title of chapter 7 ("Of the Strength and Diseases of the German Empire") foreshadowed his prognostic intent. Despite a strong personal enmity toward the Habsburgs, Pufendorf pensively favored dynastic monarchy (if not an Austrian one) as the only suitably operative cure for imperial deformity.[11]

Pufendorf's bodily metaphor of crisis can offer us substantial clues to help analyze and contextualize our search for culturally unique fears. Briefly put, we might ask: Was Pufendorf's *monstro simile* only a literary metaphor? And were other bodily representations of the war simply understood as allegories, or did they have deeper significance in political culture? Viewed as collective imaginings of fear and crisis, the war emerges as a complex of symbols crawling out from a baroque casket of monstrosities. In order to penetrate contemporary fears and unlock the corporeal code of the Thirty Years War through representations of crisis, the present analysis stretches orthodox chronological boundaries and tests notions of wartime realities as universally comprehensible.

Pufendorf was not alone in his fearful depiction of the empire as a body wracked by deformity and illness. Pathologies had already materialized in the thick of the war and he was surely cognizant of them. An *Unanticipated Deliberation*, published anonymously in 1643, commenced with this threatening corporeal image:

> Just as in the human body, where serious illnesses occur from time to time and put it in such a sorry condition that one cannot help but believe there is nothing else to expect, but its death and complete ruin; no less can humans once again achieve their former health in such illness as through the grace of God, either through appropriate physic, or a good Diet [a conscious pun on the Imperial Diet—DL], or through proper council. So too can the political body be similarly afflicted.[12]

While it foreshadowed Pufendorf's description of a "moral body or society," this earlier tract relied analytically on religious justification rather than natural law. The author blamed the war on sin and immorality and

offered spiritual physic in the form of repentance and atonement. Like Pufendorf's *De statu Imperii Germanici*, the *Unanticipated Deliberation* derived its concept of history from Daniel 2, the interpretation of the dreams of Nebuchadnezzar. Daniel's prophecy divided world history into four empires. The "four empires" theory continued to dominate early modern German academic historiography—especially among Evangelical Protestants—long after it had been discarded elsewhere in Europe. It embodied the empire's special purpose, its manifest destiny.

For example, the *Universal Chronicle* (a collaborative effort by Joachim Carion and Philipp Melanchthon) became *the* standard history text at Evangelical universities in the empire after 1557. Combined with the medieval tradition of the *translatio imperii*, the *Chronicle* legitimized Charlemagne's succession from the Caesars of antiquity. Through a transfer of power affected by the Bishop of Rome in the absence of temporal authority, the Holy Roman Emperors became legitimate heirs to the Roman Empire.[13] The French jurist Jean Bodin subsequently challenged this historical interpretation as parochial in his *Method for the Easy Comprehension of History* (1566), because it located the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation at the epicenter of a historical process so obviously repudiated by recent events.[14] Still, the theory of the four empires continued to inform the historical understanding of imperial manifest destiny as the last world empire, and it retained common currency among university-trained German nobles, burghers, jurists, and clergymen alike. Indeed, in largely unreflexive fashion, one recent university text for history students still applied a body metaphor to the structure of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation in a chapter titled "A Body Comprised of a Head and Limbs."[15]

The longevity and widespread reception of Daniel 2 is illustrated by a copper etching, *Colossus*, that appeared in 1667, the same year as Pufendorf's *De statu Imperii Germanici*. The copper etching embodies all of world history as a giant statue, incorporating the four empires theory. The Holy Roman Empire represented its most recent and final incarnation (figure 1.1a). Different body parts symbolized the four empires from Nebuchadnezzar's dream: the head (made of gold) is Assyria, Nineveh, and Babylon; the pectorals (of silver) are the Medes, Persians, and Greeks to the time of Alexander; the stomach (of bronze) represents the successor kingdoms in Egypt, Greece, and Asia Minor. The fourth and final phase of history begins at the pelvis with the Romans, separating after Augustus into the legs and feet (of iron and clay), embodying on the one side the Holy Roman Empire to the reign of the melancholic Emperor Rudolf II (r. 1576–1612) in the West (iron) and on the other the Ottoman Empire to the reign of Selim II (r. 1566–1574) in the East (clay) respectively.[16]

According to the biblical prophecy, the brittle clay feet of the Colossus are smashed by a rock (*petra*). The rock is Christ, destined to topple and

destroy the hollow edifice of worldly power at the second coming. After Daniel interpreted his dream, Nebuchadnezzar reportedly had a huge Colossus of gold built near Babylon in the plain of Dura (Daniel 3). In a parallel vision, Daniel 7 tells of four terrible creatures (a lion with eagle's wings, a flesh-devouring bear, a four-headed leopard, and, finally, a dreadful and horrible beast with ten horns and great iron teeth), each embodying another vision of the four empires. A hand-drawn image of the Colossus, sketched by a university student at a lecture in the sixteenth century, bears an unmistakable resemblance to the *later* copper etching (figure 1.1b), suggesting how the dominant image from German academic historiography had *already* been disseminated into popular culture a century earlier.

Daniel's interpretation of dreams, also a popular theme in preaching, encouraged ordinary Europeans to decipher their own nightmares as portents. After the Thirty Years War, for example, an Alsatian tinsmith's apprentice, Augustin Güntzer, wrote about interpretations of a nightmare he had as an eleven-year-old child in 1606.[17] A horrifying black rider armed with spear and sword appeared in the dream, identified himself as the devil, and challenged the boy and four white angels to mortal combat. When he awoke, Güntzer confessed to his father "I fear, it shall come true," whereupon his father incorrectly interpreted the dream as an evil omen. For many years, Güntzer complained of mental perturbations and anxieties. As the events of 1618 to 1648 unfolded, he interpreted them as the incarnation of his childhood fears. After the war ended, however, with society more or less intact, he divined the true meaning of the dream as an awe-inspiring portent sent to teach him a respectful fear of God (in German, *Ehrfurcht*).[18] The Iron Empire had survived the test of the struggle.

Print, Prurience, and the Beasts of War

If Pufendorf's imperial monster (*monstro simile*) resembles Thomas Hobbes's *Bohemoth, or The Long Parliement* (completed after 1668), if the *Colossus* reminds us of his *Leviathan* (1651), and if Güntzer's vision evidences historical contingency in dream interpretation, all three images share a common fetish: the human body as a repository of fear. Humanist influences in art, learning, medicine, and political philosophy account in part for a culturally heightened bodily consciousness.[19] Anatomical theaters sprang up throughout early modern Europe, first at the universities of Padua and Bologna, later spreading north with the Renaissance. By the seventeenth century, the anatomical theater at De Waag in Amsterdam attracted large prurient audiences to view dissections, where Hobbes too may have witnessed them.[20] Renaissance artists became anatomists as a vocation, engaging directly in dissections. Vasari suggests that Antonio

Figure 1.1a. Copper etching of the Colossus published at the time of Pufendorf's *De Statu Imperii Germanici*. Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel: IH 2.

Figure 1.1b. Colossus drawn by a sixteenth-century history student in class. Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel: Cod. Guelf. 988 Helmstadienses, fol. 87. (Many thanks to Tony Grafton for bringing this rare drawing to my attention.—DL)

Pollaiuolo, painter of *The Battle of Naked Men* (1465), was among the first artists to have "dissected many bodies to view their anatomy."[21] Michelangelo and Da Vinci also conducted dissections just as Vesalius published his fabulously illustrated *Fabric of the Human Body* (1543). In the Holy Roman Empire, Renaissance anatomical illustrators numbered among the earliest converts to Protestantism. In combination with novel print technology,

through woodcuts and broadsheets, the anatomical works of graphic artists like Albrecht Dürer, Hans Baldung Grien, and Urs Graf introduced a mass audience to this new and shocking realism in print for the first time.

In 1638, an English ballad monger named Martin Parker embraced prurient anatomical allegory in rhyme for his *Briefe dissection of Germaines Affliction: With Warre, Pestilence and Famine; and other deducable miseries…whereof Germany hath a long time felt, and at this present doth (and England may feare to) feele*.[22] In a moment of presentiment, Parker's lyrical poem cautioned the English public on the eve of its own bloody civil war. Its cover sported a penitential admonition from Luke 13:3 and (not unlike the religious message offered by the anonymous author of the *Unanticipatory Deliberations*) warned: "Except yee repent, yee shall all likewise perish. Parker's tract outlined "strange [unheard of] mischiefes miseries, disasters, murder, sacriledge and rape" suffered by the peoples of the empire.[23] The populace endured "horrid tortures" at the hands of "cruell souldiers void of all remorse," while the Croats, worst of all the mercenaries, "like to cannibals on babes will feede."[24] A respectful fear of God (by which he, like Hobbes and the Alsatian dreamer Augustin Güntzer, meant submission to the existing social order) offered one's only defense against disorder and chaos.

Parker dissected insidious war crimes in lurid details consciously intended to evoke fear in his English compatriots. He told of hostages tied so tightly that blood sprang from their ears and noses while their eyes popped out ("O horrid sinne"); of persons skinned alive or others who had "privy parts, with powder fil'd, and blowne up"; of husbands forced to watch first their daughters, then their wives raped; of nuns, monks, and rich burghers' daughters first killed on church alters, then carnally abused in necrophilic acts; of wives and maids who drowned themselves in wells "embracing death to save their honesty"; of hunger, desperation, and widespread cannibalism:[25] "So furiously this monster [famine] raves…that people dig'd dead bodies out of graves, and to sustaine their lives have eate the flesh."[26] While his claim of the decimation of the Duchy of Zweibrucken from millions to only 292 pitiful survivors rings of hyperbolic crooning, his epilogue left the reader in no doubt that, despite living in a time of mirth under the good governance of a gracious king, the English faced similar perils, would they not desist from the seven deadly sins of excess, pride, sloth, drunkenness, extortion, avarice, and luxury.[27]

Icons akin to Martin Parker's monster of famine and Pufendorf's celebrated *monstro simile* appeared frequently in the German graphic arts during the war. Take, for example, the single-leaf copper etching, an *Illustration of the Merciless, Abominable, Cruel and Horrible Beast*, produced just prior to 1648 (figure 1.2).[28] The accompanying mnemonic poem investigates the causes of the beast's arrival and solutions for ridding the empire

Abbildung des vnbarmhertzigen/ abschewlichen/ grausam- vnd grewlichen Thiers/
Welches in wenig Jahren/ den grösten Theil Teutsch-
landes erbärm- vnd jämmerlichen verheeret/ außgezehret vnd verderbet. Beneben einem Bericht/
woher daſſelbe ſeinen Vrſprung/ wer ſolches erzogen/ ernehret/ ꝛc. Endlich durch was Mittel
ſeiner wieder loß zu werden. Männiglich an Tag gegeben.

Figure 1.2. *Illustration of the Merciless, Abominable, Cruel and Horrible Beast.* Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel: IE 212.

of this "wolf roaming the green forests and heaths, which furiously rends both man and livestock." The beast is further likened to an untrustworthy lion, a wild stallion, a misanthropic snake robbed of its senses, ducks, rats, and frogs, all causing great fear by attacking both body and property. The poem returns to beasts from Daniel 7, the lion and the bear but also a wolf, evoking both fear and terror among the poor souls of Germany. The beast tramples crops underfoot, bringing hunger and pestilence. Finally, the author names the evil beast as "War, born and reared on the sins of humankind, released by the wrath of God and only to be placated by righteous fear of God, contrition and penance."

Or perhaps we might compare this to another copper etching from the Augsburg print shop of Hans Jörg Mannasser that might have later inspired Pufendorf's monstrous metaphor (figure 1.3). It carried the appropriate title *The War of Symbols. That Is: The Shocking Effects of War*.[29] In a poem, the narrator approaches a hideous fire-breathing beast.[30] Shocked by its bloodied head, mad and angry eyes, razor-sharp teeth, and extended tongue, the narrator is nonetheless driven by "fear and confusion" to question the unrecognizable animal as to the causes of the present emergency. He asks for its name, to which the beast responds, "They call me

BELLVM SYMBOLICVM.
Das ist:
Die erschröckliche Wirckungen deß Kriegs/
inn Gleichnuß fürgestellt.
Zu Augspurg/ bey Hanß Jerg Mannasser/ Kupfferstecher auffm Creutz.

Figure 1.3. *The War of Symbols*. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Muenchen *Einbl.* V,8 a-23.

Bellum, or war, the hostage of God.…I despoil people and land by sword, fire, water, thievery and arson; old and young, poor and rich, ecclesiastical and secular are all the same to me. I put a violent end to young children still in their mother's womb. I bring inflation and pestilence." As in the previously discussed broadsheet, the poet blames sin, in particular greed,

disloyalty, and social insubordination for the terrors of war, in turn causing cessation of trade and the productive crafts by the near annihilation of their practitioners.

If the conflict confronted its narrator with a confusing war of symbols (*Bellum Symbolicum*), then broadsheets associating innumerable monsters with the war confront us with just as many trees in Victor Turner's proverbial forest. On the surface, the temptation to address them as universal tropes pulled from the timeless hat of wartime atrocities is surely high. Or perhaps just as dismissively, one might view them as religious rhetoric from Delumeau's endless catalogue of all-pervasive *Fear in the West*, just another Augustinian *contemptus mundi*, the rejection of the material world in late medieval/early modern Europe.[31] Neither supposition brings us much further toward a conceptualization of the Thirty Years War as part of a larger historical epoch with fears peculiar to it.

In fact, the fears in these broadsheets are hybrid monsters. Universal anxieties, combined with Christian stereotypes from the European *longue durée*, continued to frame the fears expressed in wartime broadsheets. However, the introduction of a novel medium—print technology—gradually altered the message. Previously, the only methods for reaching a large audience directly were through art and the spoken word. Broadsheets ushered in modern mass-produced propaganda, first employed effectively to project sectarian fears during the Protestant Reformation. By the time of the Thirty Years War, illustrators of broadsheets not only employed motifs from antiquity (revived during the Renaissance) and stock biblical tropes of sectarian fears; they added to these the imagery of the conjunctural crisis of the early seventeenth century, indicative of the baroque chamber of horrors. Baroque culture in all its manifestations exuded fantastic images of the bizarre, including a fixation with necrology and a fascination with the collection of curiosities. Throughout Europe, the theater of the macabre dominated the stage. Princely courts in the empire spent vast sums to collect exotic and gruesome objects in their *Wunderkammer*, the precursors of modern museums.[32] Propagandists and moralists of the Thirty Years War grasped all elements at their disposal to frame and channel specific events within historical master narratives readily accessible to contemporaries.

Fantasies of anthropomorphic creatures became part and parcel of this culture of the bizarre. In addition to graphic images of witches, ghosts, and bogeymen, animals caused anxieties in the popular consciousness. In the ravages of the war, wolves hunted the countryside in packs. It was but a short step to sightings of werewolves. In 1628, in the midst of a terrible plague, Bavarian authorities issued a public decree posted throughout the land offering a reward of fifty fl. dead or alive for a werewolf seen in local forests and held responsible for several deaths. Therefore, we might reconsider the relegation of popular culture to the uneducated masses, as fearful

imaginings of fantastic anthropomorphic werewolves apparently infected all levels of society.[33] Even after the war, pilgrims complained of fears and terrors suffered from chance encounters with revelers costumed as animals and demons during the carnival season, including a reported sighting of a large headless wolf.[34] However, these intensified fears had long been present. Carlo Ginzburg and Eva Pocs have uncovered evidence of popular cults of Benandanti across Europe, people who actually believed they could shape-shift and take on animal forms to ward off magical attacks on agrarian fertility.[35] However, the famous case of convicted werewolf Peter Stump, arrested in 1589 for killing thirteen children, two women, and a man before raping his own daughter, was probably not a Benandanti but an innocent man. Stump was summarily tried, his body torn by red-hot pincers, broken on the wheel, beheaded, and burned at the stake, while the instruments of his execution were displayed on a pike carrying the symbol of his lycanthropy.[36] In 1594, a longer pamphlet reporting on witches detailed the case of another werewolf named Jakob; presumed a sorcerer, he was simply burned at the stake.[37]

Universal Portents and Targeted Condemnations

Within this context, let us then reconsider the two broadsheets considered above. Both reified the monstrosities of war biblically as the anthropomorphic and monstrous body of the empire from Nebuchadnezzar's two dreams. Both condemned public immorality and sin as root causes of earthly suffering and the impending apocalypse in a fashion indicative of Reformation propaganda. However, neither invokes an explicit sectarian attack. Instead, contemporaries would have recognized the implicit political/historical message of depicting the empire's body in a twisted and unnatural shape, much as those of the sufferers of demonic possession during the so-called Golden Age of the Demoniac (like witchcraft persecutions, that popular phenomenon also peaked at this time).[38] By the time both broadsheets appeared in the later stages of the conflict, confessional boundaries had blurred to the extent that Catholic French forces fought with Evangelical Swedes, and Protestant mercenaries served the imperial marshal Tilly at the destruction of Magdeburg.

Indeed, it is precisely the universalistic condemnation of the horrors of war, largely devoid of theological polemic, that is novel. As it progressed, the Thirty Years War manifested a secularization of political values and a heightened concern for economic issues. To be sure, the rhetoric of propagandistic broadsheets intended for a popular audience retained a ruddy bourgeois complexion, moralizing with a scatological hue. However, polemics gradually shifted to current political and economic themes and, as

the war demonstrated its potential for massive destruction, the broadsheets reflected nonpartisan fears for an audience already possessed of firsthand experiences of the horrors of war.

One example of the specific application of general tropes is a 1621 broadsheet titled *The Union Misbirth*. Published to commemorate the defeat of the Protestant Union at the Battle of White Mountain, the illustration depicts the political estates of the empire attending a pitiable woman in the throes of excruciating delivery in a birthing chair. Publicly illustrating childbirth was, to say the least, visibly indecent and prurient. The composition alluded to a genre of popular reports concerned with so-called monstrous births, portents of malaise in the empire. From the popular perspective, anxious reports of unnatural events manifested celestial displeasure over evil in the moral economy of sin and virtue during the age of crisis. Illustrated in woodcuts of comets, bleeding rain, and catches of strange, mutated fish, fearful portents of unspecified horrors to come (like Güntzer's nightmare mentioned above) proliferated from the second half of the sixteenth century.[39]

Such portents, however, were not simply foreboding harbingers of things to come. They were a two-edged sword, at once a premonition and a condemnation of contemporary morality. Therefore, portents characterize the complexities of our original chicken-egg problem and demonstrate that the relationship between fears and crisis is not simply one of cause and effect. Authors of broadsheets marking monstrous births as portents traded in common fears over the sympathetic shock of quotidian traumatic events (for example, witnessing a suicide) on pregnant woman, which might contribute to miscarriage or birth defects.[40] As in the case of dream interpretation, popular belief reflected medical opinions. Renaissance humanists described the soul as a malleable wax tablet, written upon by the senses, such as sights and sounds. Pregnant women feared shocks that might leave an imprint, and they avoided places like cemeteries for unbaptized children; jealous revenants might invest the soul of an unborn child.

Although linked at first with sectarian propaganda during the Reformation, reports of monstrous births lost much of their confessional vitriol by the time of the Thirty Years War, though they retained aspects of popular beliefs. Gradually, portentous misbirths served as indicators of the broader Seventeenth-Century Crisis. Depictions included lurid accounts of children born with two heads, Siamese twins, children born half-human, half-animal, or humans giving birth to frogs and toads, symbols of evil corruption, pestilence, and death. In 1618, at the onset of the conflict, a report of a monstrous birth coincided with the appearance of a comet, another event of portentous significance. The question of which caused which was left to the reader, but some sort of ideological nexus was clearly played upon.

The Union Misbirth contained an accompanying text in rhyme (to be sung to the tune of a requiem), combining the menace of monstrous births with an obscene lesson in imperial history. The rhyme commences with a potted history of Jean Calvin. Calvin fornicates allegorically with Heresy, Ambition, Theft, Treason, and a plethora of other vices until he settles upon Poverty as his concubine. Perhaps ironically (at least from the perspective of the modernization thesis), Calvin is held accountable for the crises of famine, pestilence, and impoverishment in the empire. He and Poverty produce a bastard daughter named Union. Poverty pimps Union out to a long list of European potentates, foreign interventionists, and, most importantly, the elector of the Palatinate, Friedrich V. The thrust of the verbal attack on Calvin is thus rendered politically rather than theologically. It blames Calvin for the start of the Thirty Years War, not because he was heretical, but because the briefly reigning usurper of Bohemia, the so-called "Winter King," Friedrich V, was a Reformed Protestant.

After whoring with French soldiers, Dutch privateers, an English doctor, Swiss cowherds, Hungarian renegades, and the sultan in Constantinople, Union believes herself pregnant. She calls upon her neighbors in the empire to act as midwives and attendants, preparing for a most difficult birth. Italian physicians arrive to assist with the birth, only to discover that she may not be pregnant at all, only bloated and poisoned by a contaminated diet. At this point the author's humor turns dark. The physicians administer a treatment of vomitives and clysters to purge Union, but they are so severe that she expels whole cities and castles. As false pains of labor set in, Union prepares to give birth, but instead her vanity can only bring forth the passage of wind, and she passes softly into death. At the end of the day, *The Union Misbirth* ends disappointingly at the White Mountain in a fart instead of a monstrous birth, and yet still leaving behind a catastrophic legacy. Surprisingly (for us, perhaps), the author was a Protestant, though undoubtedly evangelical.[41]

Satirical reference to the uncleanliness of the lower body parts as sources of worldly corruption and decay will be familiar to medievalists acquainted with Bakhtin's work on the carnivalesque and the grotesque.[42] Likewise, another view of the war depicts an anthropomorphic demon voraciously consuming civilians only to evacuate them from his bowels as soldiers (figure 1.4). This *New Unheard-of Transmutation* harked back to antipapal propaganda from the Reformation portraying the devil defecating monks.[43] However, its theological polemics tread lightly. While the beast sports a cardinal's hat, the text concentrates on economic complaints.[44] The honor of the honest bourgeois civilians is juxtaposed with the dishonor of the soldier's profession, defiled through an association with feces. Certainly, this is a satirical flourish. Nevertheless, in the Holy Roman Empire, townsfolk regularly defined persons engaged in the removal of human waste

Newe vnerhörte TRANSMUTAT
Weil es an Soldaten gebricht
Daß man ſo viel kan haben nicht/
Zum Kriege wie ſichs wol gebürt
So werden allhie tranſmutirt,
Welche nicht können haben Ruh
Und ſich am beſten ſchicken darzu.
Ich als ein Fürſt dieſer Welt
Weil jetzo ziehen in das Feldt/
Weil ich loß bin von den Banden
Nehm ich mir für in alln Landen/
Viel Vngelücks anzurichten
Tag vnd Nacht thu ich dichten/
Darüber mich hart bekümmer/
Daß ich auch weder ſchlaff noch ſchlumfer/
Vnd mir die Schantz möcht gelingen
Daß ich jhr könt viel verſchlingen
Zog manchen Krieg auff vnd nieder/
Keret auch offt zu Hauſe wieder/
Vnd füret mit mir viel gute Beut
Noch die müſſigen Krigesleut
Schryhen mich wider auffs new an
Vnd wolten all Gelt von mir han/
Da richt ich an ein groſſen Strauß
Viel Vnglück mancher ſtunde auß.
Alß ich nun kam in ein gut Land
Darin wir waren wol bekandt
Die Einwoner wie ſie vor Jahren
Abtrünnig/ Wanckelmütig warn/
Daß ſie auch jhren König fromb
Vorretheriſch hatten bracht vmb/
Erſticket hatn/ mit eim Küſſn
Ich meyn/ ſie müſſens jetzund büſſn.
Weil verrucket nun der Winter kalt
Hab ich mannig Felt wol beſtalt/
Damit ſich heb ein groſſer Streit
Daß ich verhoff gar gute Beut/
Damit auch nicht werd verhindert
Mit Jagen Dörff vnd Städt gplündert/

Figure 1.4. *New Unheard-of Transmutation*. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg: HB 16998.

(e.g., latrine cleaners and collectors of night soil) as legally untouchable by practitioners of honorable trades.[45] As they represented a physical threat to a person's bodily honor, such persons were feared and shunned.

The demon is represented androgynously as a wrinkled postmenopausal crone with the sagging breasts emblematic of an evil witch, a baroque image of terror.[46] In gender terms, however, the text is distinctly male. The conscription of boys and men into military service is, as we know, a universal complaint. Males have suffered this degradation for centuries, from the gang-pressed sailors of the British Navy during the eighteenth century to modern-day war-children in Africa and Afghanistan. As a modern practice, it existed side by side with the novel system of wartime "contributions," exactions taken from civilian populations to support military campaigning in regional theaters of war. Grimmelshausen's protagonist, Simiplicissimus, recounts his own conscription at a young age and, though fictionalized, he surely confronted contemporary readers with undeniable verisimilitude. The *New Transmutation* blames a variety of culprits for conscription: secular princes and greedy lawyers, as well as

militant Jesuits and zealous Arminians, who shortly will be transmuted into armies of *Landsknechte*. Urged on in the last stanza, the demon is offered up a terrible refrain:

> Now shit freshly, you Devil filthy,
> Doubtless you'll find parsons o'plenty,
> Shit out pikemen by the score,
> Offered up as a toast to war.[47]

Broadsheets often inferred economic disasters resulting from the chaos of war in a general way, reflecting the anxious reaction of inhabitants of the Holy Roman Empire to a disastrous economic crisis during the *Kipper-und-Wipper* inflation from 1619 to 1622. This contemporary expression referred to the valuation of coinage by weight; the scales (*Wippen*) only tipped (*Kippen*) if the coins weighed in correctly. In order to make up for a shortfall in revenues needed to raise troops during the initial Bohemian revolt, the conflicting parties adopted an official policy of currency deflation through the formal debasement of coinage.[48] The enigmatic imperial general Albrecht von Wallenstein was one of the principal members (and beneficiaries) of one such imperial consortium. Previously, throughout 1621, the opposition government of Friedrich V "increased the number of gulden minted from a mark of silver (a unit of weight)" from nineteen to seventy-eight, nearly a fourfold devaluation.[49]

The *Kipper-und-Wipper* inflation is depicted as cannibalistic terror in a broadsheet published at the height of the crisis in 1621 (figure 1.5). Titled the *Sad Complaint of the Poor, because of the overwhelming increase in money, which creates an extremely substantial inflation of all goods*, the engraving displays (consecutively) the furnace-like skull of the devil (representing death and damnation) feasting on the damned, and the dragon of greed[50] (with lion's feet and a ram's head) emerging from the devil's mouth; the dragon tucks into a nobleman, who (like Wallenstein) is held responsible for currency devaluation; the nobleman, bitten by greed, takes a bite out of a hoarding vendor, whose hungry gaze is set on an impoverished family.

The text of the broadsheet is divided into three distinct sections. The first section explains the woeful plight of those impoverished, suffering from the inability to buy hoarded food with devalued currency. It invokes a well-known scenario from earlier broadsheets, whereby the wealthy exploit the situation, disregarding the tenets of brotherly love. In so doing, society falls into the "noose of despair" (a euphemism for suicide), whereby the exploiters will be sunk into the ground with the roots of their greed.

This scenario had already played out in at least seven broadsheets from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. All report on tragic, yet separate, incidents of suicide blamed on desperate parents facing starvation. Heads of families, unable to find bread for their children, slaughtered

Figure 1.5. *Sad Complaint of the Poor*. Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel: IE 185.

them, killed their spouses, and then took their own lives. One broadsheet from 1614 shows a father putting his starving family to bed and murdering them. In a state of confusion, he informs a passerby of his horrible crime, then goes into a forest and hangs himself. His body, dishonorable to the touch, must be burned by the executioner. In this case, as in every other, some local official or rich relative had been approached for assistance prior to the grim murder/suicide but had failed in his duty of Christian charity and brotherly love.[51] In another broadsheet, the hoarder is subsequently depicted sinking into the earth only to be taken by Satan.[52]

Suicide evoked extreme fear among early modern Europeans as a portent of Satan's hand at work within the community. Communities feared not only spirits who revisited the living but also hailstorms inflicted as divine punishment for profaning cemeteries with the bodies of desperate criminals. Suicide rates shot up during famine and plague, especially during the terrible plague of 1627–28.[53] Many people killed themselves in fits of fever and terminal illness. In the popular imagination, however, suicides were held responsible for famine and plague caused by the destruction of crops by inclement weather (a form of scapegoating that targeted witches as well). Here, popular culture inverted cause and effect, holding suicide responsible for natural calamities rather than blaming terminal illness and starvation as root causes of self-destruction. Not only for this reason, communities stationed guards around local cemeteries to prevent malefactors being buried in hallowed ground.

In Central Europe, crop failures led to famine, which lowered bodily resistance to disease and, exacerbating wartime privations, invited pandemics of typhus in 1623, 1627–28 and again in 1634. Dubbed the Hungarian disease, contemporaries traced its origins to eastern battlefields on the Puzsta.[54] Fear of the Hungarian disease mirrored another contemporary menace, the long-standing threat of Turkish invasion. Fear of the Ottoman Empire is the subject of a recent study by Andrew Wheatcroft. He too notes that "in the west, terror at their huge armies and fear of their merciless savagery was spread through books, pamphlets and news-sheets, while printing presses produced series after series of graphic and horrifying images."[55]

Fear of starvation enabled parents to credibly threaten children with tales of child-eating bogeymen, who gleefully devoured misbehavers. Although these and other reports of widespread cannibalism intensified during the war, they too had already been on the rise since the late sixteenth century. At that very time, as we now know, climatic change on the peak of global cooling during the Little Ice Age in Central Europe played havoc with crops, causing shortages, inflation, famine, and, in its wake, a series of endemic plagues. Lurid reports of anthropophagi described civilians who took in critically wounded soldiers only to butcher them for food. A letter published in 1637 offered detailed reports of cannibalism from the war: In the county of Zweibrücken, there lived a woman who preyed on young children. With promises of food, she lured a five-year-old boy into a wood, killed him with an iron hook, and hacked up his body for food. When a young girl knocked at her door late one night in search of shelter, she offered up her own bed, only to slaughter and butcher the girl. Then she and her daughter devoured the flesh. Once again, the author decried her absence of *Ehrfurcht* before the wrath of God, "hotter than a Sicilian mountain."[56] Small wonder that communities felt obliged to guard their cemeteries, not only against profanation through the burial of suicides, but also against grave robbers allegedly in search of their taboo quarry during the war.

Such fears of cannibalism, greed, currency devaluation, and hoarding were harnessed into the *Sad Complaint of the Poor* of 1621 in specific reference to the *Kipper-und-Wipper* inflation. In this sense, the broadsheet contextualizes a specific historical event and embodies it with an equally recognizable, but broader transcendental meaning. With a minimal theological reference to Saint Paul's reminder of the need only for one's daily bread to achieve salvation, it offers an extended empirical explanation for the crisis in social terms. The second section spells out a detailed analysis of currency devaluation and hoarding to explain how these dual processes rendered work at traditional rates of wage increasingly futile. The anonymous author suggests a fivefold rate of devaluation, not far off from the calculations offered above (fourfold), corroborating the plausibility of his argument. Since there was little to gain through the practice of a legitimate

trade, the situation surely left many with few alternatives other than the *New Transmutation* described in the previous broadsheet, despite the hopeful message of patience prescribed in the third, concluding section of the *Sad Complaint*.

Conclusion

Like other types, economic fears expressed during *Kipper-und-Wipper* inflation had roots in deep cultural values over which the military conflict exerted only a tangential influence. As this analysis has demonstrated, unless one interprets expressions of fear within that broader context, the fears of the Thirty Years War may appear as meaningless as the war itself. While an analysis of those fears—both real and imagined—often frustrates our traditional sense of the chronology of the war and, at times, reality itself, it can be employed to frame the war in a useful thematic narrative. Just as long-term religious and political tensions in the run-up to the conflict deserve attention, long-term economic and climatic conjunctures buffeted society, adding to fear over the *longue durée*. As armies marched, preexisting social angst reemerged intensified and prolonged, distracting ordinary people who, at times, seemed to worry little about the righteousness of the war at all. Instead, fear focused their imaginations on seemingly irrational preoccupations and haunted them with fantasies. The war exacerbated and intensified fears in a society already hypersensitized to them by recurrent bouts of famine and pandemics since the latter sixteenth century.

Although the horrors and privations suffered during the Thirty Years War are discussed in most historical syntheses, few have ever mentioned the odd plethora of fearful bodies (human and otherwise) at this time.[57] Horrible bodies offer a singular vantage point from which to observe the war years within the context of broader social values. They comprise a common and recurrent motif in the early modern culture of fear. Depictions of dead, tortured, misshapen, and diseased bodies, accounts about fear of bodily injury or abuse at the hands of soldiers, as well as apparitions of supernatural and fantastic bodies all populated a world of discourse in an atmosphere of visceral terror. By contextualizing bodies of fear more broadly, we raise important questions about the public sphere during wartime, when conjunctures and other vast impersonal forces troubled the popular mind, often to a greater extent than perpetrators of war expected, intended, or desired.

At the onset of the Thirty Years War, natural philosophy (i.e., physics) and medicine still had strong religious components. Christian soteriology imbued life itself with transcendental moral meaning. Bodies were porous. Physical bodies could be infected with sin just as easily as disease, while

political bodies contracted the contagion of heresy or epidemics of the Hungarian disease. Through linkages to the macrocosm, each individual sinner posed a potential sympathetic danger to the health of the entire body of the commonwealth.

Johannes Burkhardt has referred to the Thirty Years War as a trauma, another medical term closely related to crisis. He suggests that the war sorely tested peoples' religious beliefs and challenged their fear of God.[58] Similarly, while researching fear in the seventeenth century, Andreas Bähr has (perhaps not surprisingly) discovered survivors of the war who questioned the very existence of God.[59] By the end of the war, Descartes had surely dualized philosophy. Cartesian dualism appealed to growing skepticism among ruling elites toward metaphysical explanations for natural phenomena, which were politically more difficult to control and manipulate.[60] Thus, Thomas Kuhn's paradigm shift was as much a political transmutation as a scientific one. Natural law gained ground; Grotius argued for universalist principles of international law, while theories of the emotions pathologized fear and morality. Analogously, Pufendorf's views on the body politic in his *De statu Imperii Germanici* differed from the earlier wartime images, as we have seen. His imperial monstrosity did not suffer from the wrath of God, but from physical infirmity that could be corrected and cured through reason rather than repentance. Nonetheless, even if the foundations of legitimacy had begun to shift from divine right to social contract, the idea of normal and deformed political bodies remained intact and entered almost imperceptibly into the German enlightened political vocabulary.

Just as the Thirty Years War is sometimes viewed as a manifestation of the General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century, so too did its specific fears emerge from a much larger context. Thus, the fears of the Thirty Years War are, at their basest, a nexus located somewhere between a caricature of quotidian prejudices, imaginings, and values from the *longue durée* and circumstances specific to the war itself. At the end of the day, as both existing fears and immediate crisis fed off each other and dynamic elements of their relationship changed, one common point of reference remained the same—the human body. Even a luminary like Pufendorf regressed into dark childhood memories of misshapen monsters in an attempt to dissect his fear of disorder in the body politic. His own fears of the Thirty Years War and those of his German contemporaries expressed themselves in corporal metaphors and anthropomorphic allegories. In that manner, bodies of fear slipped intuitively into the ostensibly rational universe of natural law, informed political theory during the Enlightenment, shaped Darwinian views on social degeneracy in the nineteenth century, and still exert nominal influence on teaching and academic debate over the Crisis of the Seventeenth Century today.

CHAPTER 2

Conceptions of Terror in the European Enlightenment

RONALD SCHECHTER, THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM & MARY

Enlightenment and the Reign of Terror

In August 1789 the French National Assembly passed the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, a founding document in the history of human rights.[1] In September 1793 the legislative body known as the Convention inaugurated the infamous Reign of Terror, and over the next ten months more than thirteen thousand people died on the guillotine.[2] How was this possible? Why did the French Revolution give birth to the Terror? How could a movement designed to liberate humanity descend into a tyranny worse than the reign of any ancien régime monarch?

These questions are not new. Indeed, contemporaries posed them almost as soon as the judicial killings began, and apologists and critics of the Revolution have argued over the Reign of Terror for more than two hundred years. The historiographical battle reached a pitch in the years leading up to the bicentenary in 1989, with "Jacobins" claiming that the Revolution had faced real enemies and needed to take emergency action, while "revisionists" saw the Terror as the product of a political culture unable to understand the need for compromise. Yet the interest in the Terror has not gone away; it is no doubt fueled today by the centrality of terror to the political discourse beyond 9/11, which calls for renewed historical analysis of the place of terror in the western world.[3] I say "western," not without awareness of the problematic nature of this adjective, but because so much discussion of terror today focuses on Islam, the "Arab world," and what until recently was labeled the "Orient." Part of my goal in the following study is to show the prominent place of terror, including ideas endorsing or praising it, in European intellectual and cultural history. To be sure, terror as represented in the current "war on terror" is very different from its eighteenth-century namesake. At the most obvious level, terror today appears as an unmitigated evil, whereas prior to and during the French Revolution many writers and political actors saw it as a positive

force. Nevertheless, what commentators said openly about terror in the eighteenth century may reveal attitudes that are now largely unspoken, or at least couched in euphemisms such as "shock and awe."

My intervention differs in at least one crucial respect from previous contributions to the debate on the Terror. Typically historians have understood "terror" as an objective phenomenon, a self-evident feature of politics and society under certain conditions. Paradoxically, even during the heyday of cultural history, when historians turned away from empirical, sociological methods and sought to understand how people in the past imagined or constructed their world, scholars writing on terror continued to treat it as a natural or inevitable social reality. Reflected in judicial institutions that stripped individual "suspects" of even the most basic legal protection, and confirmed in the grim statistics of mass killing, terror was a set of concrete facts. I do not wish to trivialize what happened during the French Revolution by reducing it to a cultural construct or an aspect of the cultural imaginary. Real heads rolled. Real people suffered. At the same time, there is a need to understand why the policies of the revolutionary regime were understood in terms of terror, why the name otherwise indicating an emotion became an abbreviation for a system of government.

Terror and "the" Terror are similarly relevant to the historiography of fear. This now-burgeoning scholarly literature, as historian Andreas Bähr observes, has largely been a response (at least among Europeanists) to the work of Jean Delumeau, and in particular his monumental study *La peur en Occident (XIVe–XVIIIe siècles): une cité assiégée* (1978). Delumeau sought to correct long-standing assumptions about a fearless Renaissance succeeding a fear-filled Middle Ages, arguing instead that early modern Europeans were beset by a panoply of fears: of the plague, of storms, of the Devil, of Jews, Muslims, women, and witchcraft. Historians challenging the Delumeau thesis have focused on the strategies by which Europeans managed or overcame their fears, yet they have tended to take "fear" as a psychological constant, whereas Bähr is skeptical about the possibility of reconstructing a *mentalité* of that emotion. Rather he favors a historicist approach to fear that focuses on the discourses surrounding it, and indeed his research into the meaning(s) of fear in seventeenth-century Germany has proven the fruitfulness of such an approach. Specifically, he has shown how contemporaries often paradoxically viewed fear as a positive condition, especially when it was directed toward God. After all, God-fearing people had a better chance of gaining salvation.[4]

What follows here takes a similar semantic-historical approach, though (as my conclusion suggests) I believe it is possible to reconcile this methodological orientation with the goal of recovering *mentalités* or psychological conditions. In other words, paying close attention to discourses does not preclude making (cautious) claims about how people might have felt.

Moreover, just as Bähr found a surprising valorization of *die Furcht* (fear) in certain contexts, I am struck by the positive connotations of *la terreur* in the French Revolution.

Here it is important to recall that the word *terreur* was not the product of historians searching to explain a phenomenon that had already ended. Nor was it the invention of counterrevolutionaries seeking to discredit their enemies. The architects of the Terror openly and proudly used the word themselves. Recently the historian Jean-Clément Martin has questioned whether the National Convention officially declared terror to be the "order of the day," as historians have long presumed, on September 5, 1793.[5] He may be correct, but there is no doubt that revolutionaries repeatedly used the word terror to describe their mode of governance. Certainly the *sans-culottes*, the urban radicals who had pressured the Convention to take draconian measures against reputed enemies of the nation, believed terror to be the form of government then in place; thus in November 1793 representatives of the popular movement publicly urged the Convention to "maintain…terror as the great order of the day."[6] And in his famous speech to the legislative body on February 5, 1794, Robespierre explicitly asserted that "terror" was "the general principle of democracy applied to our country's most urgent needs."[7]

What images, feelings, connotations, and concepts did the word *terreur* evoke? And were these truly "revolutionary" with respect to earlier understandings of the term? In order to answer these questions, I propose to look for intellectual antecedents that made a certain conceptualization of terror both comprehensible and appealing to revolutionaries. This search focuses on the European Enlightenment—a term I use both to designate both a period (roughly from the end of the seventeenth century to the French Revolution) and a loosely defined intellectual movement that questioned the sacred mysteries of church and state, set itself up in opposition to the status quo, and sought to explicate the laws governing the natural and human worlds—though my search acknowledges the influence of earlier movements. I am aware of the methodological problems involved in such a project. There is a risk of reifying a diverse corpus of works and a multiplicity of interests and opinions as "the Enlightenment," and the search for origins, according to some critics, smacks of teleology.[8] Yet there is arguably a greater risk in avoiding an investigation into intellectual antecedents, as this position gives too much credence to the notion of the Revolution as constituting a complete rupture from the past.

There are similar dangers of reification when examining similar emotion words in different languages. Are the French *terreur* and Italian *terrore* the same as English terror? What about Latin *terror* and German *Schrecken*? Of course there is no eternal Platonic idea behind these words. On the other hand, there are patterns to the emotional states that they (at least attempt

to) describe. Close attention to these patterns can yield important information about discourses as well as emotional conditions.

The hypothesis that Enlightenment thinkers helped to make terror attractive to political actors at the end of the eighteenth century goes against the grain of much scholarship. It is a truism that the Enlightenment aimed at emancipating humanity from fear. Even Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, the movement's greatest critics, claimed that it "pursued the goal of taking fear away from human beings and establishing them as masters."[9] As we will see, the Enlightenment did frequently rail against terror. But a closer examination reveals that its relationship to terror was highly ambivalent.

A Few Definitions

In 1690, Antoine Furetière, author of the *Dictionnaire universel*, defined "terreur" as follows:

> Great fright (*effroy*), passion of the soul caused by the presence of a frightful (*affreux*), horrible (*épouvantable*) object. The great Conquerors gained Provinces by the simple *terror* of their name, of their arms. Aristotle said that Tragedy had to cause *terror*, or compassion. The bravest people are sometimes subject to panic *terrors*, or ill-founded horrors (*épouvantes*). The cruelty of executions was not capable of putting *terror* in the Martyrs.[10]

The Académie Française, the state-supported institution that had expelled Furetière for preempting it in the production of a French dictionary, gave this definition of "terreur" in its 1694 lexicon:

> Horror (*Espouvante*), great fear (*crainte*), violent agitation of the soul caused by the image of a present ill or a coming danger (*d'un peril prochin*). Cast terror among one's enemies; spread terror wherever one passes. Fill with terror. He carried terror everywhere. It is said of a great Prince, or of a Conqueror, that he fills everyone with the terror of his name, to say that his name inspires terror everywhere. And panic Terror is what one calls a terror without a subject and without foundation.[11]

In both dictionaries, terror appears first as an emotion, an extreme form of fear. Furetière requires the actual presence of an "object" of terror, whereas for the academy the emotion may emanate from a present or future peril, but in each case the feeling appears as a rational, or at least understandable, response to a threat. (Both dictionaries reserve the term "panic terror" for terrors that are groundless.) In the case of Furetière, Aristotle's maxim on the role of terror in tragedy suggests a positive valuation of the emotion (at least when experienced through the medium of

theatrical performances), which is associated with the compassion viewers feel for the tragic hero. Importantly, both Furetière and the Académie Française immediately move from terror as an emotion to terror as the attribute of a conqueror, that is, as the ability to inspire the emotion of terror in others. Here terror is a metonym, a figure drawing attention to the close association between the emotion and the agent who provokes it. The Académie lingers over this version of terror, providing several examples; Furetière is more concise, but he significantly uses the adjective "great" (*grands*) to describe the "Conquerors" who acquired land through the high level of fear they inspired in their neighbors.

From a twenty-first-century perspective what is notable in the late seventeenth-century dictionary definitions is that they present terror as a neutral or even positive attribute of successful leaders. Furetière's reference to martyrs submitting to terrible punishments alludes to the subject of tyranny (though the author carefully locates this in pagan antiquity); the Académie Française avoided the topic, perhaps because Louis XIV had recently and infamously produced Protestant martyrs to the oppressive policies culminating in the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. Still, the tone in both entries suggests that terror is a natural, even positive attribute of a "great" person. It is both a tool and a sign of power, and if not necessarily a guarantee of legitimacy, at least compatible with legitimacy. In its entry for "terrible," which Furetière did not define, the Académie Française gave as the first example of usage "*The judgments of God are terrible*," thus linking terror, power, and legitimacy via the idea of divinity.[12]

In the fourth edition of the Académie's dictionary, published in 1762, a significant addition to the entry on terror appears. It includes the following examples: "When speaking of a great Captain, it is said that *He is the terror of his enemies*. And of a severe Judge, that *he is the terror of scoundrels* (*scélérats*)."[13] Do these additions indicate a growing acceptance of terror as signs of military greatness and of justice? Or are they defensive responses to an increasing sense that terror is *not* the proper means of exerting power, whether military or judicial? Either is possible, or both. But the official version of terror, as embodied in the Académie dictionary, is not enough for a historical understanding of the range of meanings associated with the word. It is necessary to examine other sources.

Baron d'Holbach and the Enlightenment War on Terror

Conspicuously absent from both Académie Française dictionaries, and only indirectly suggested in Furetière, is the notion of terror as a sign of tyranny. Other writers, however, particularly those associated with the Enlightenment, did make this connection. At the very beginning of the eighteenth century the Irish deist/pantheist John Toland viewed the terror

of hell as a tool by which religious and worldly leaders had kept the people in a state of subjection.[14] In 1732 the deist and democrat Alberto Radicati, a Piedmontese philosopher living in England, described the fear of death as a "false terror" that was not natural, but rather acquired with the help of a manipulative clergy.[15] In 1738 Voltaire denounced terror, especially of hell, as the tool by which religious fanatics collected converts.[16] David Hume, writing in 1741, described terror as the root of superstition and religious fanaticism.[17] At midcentury the Prussian king and "enlightened despot" Frederick the Great saw terror as a sign of primitive religious belief, which the Enlightenment would cure.[18] In 1758 the Swiss-French philosophe Helvétius, drawing on Montesquieu's view of fear (*crainte*) as the principle of "oriental" despotism, used the word *terreur* to describe the power of the Turkish Sultan.[19] He also saw terror as a key component in what he called the "government of the Jesuits."[20] Similar views of terror appeared later in the century. In 1773 Diderot associated terror with fanaticism and the power of tyrants, including but not exclusively limited to "oriental potentates."[21] Rousseau, in his *Confessions* (published posthumously in 1782), expressed resentment at the Catholic Church for having traumatized him during his childhood with "the terror of hell."[22]

Examples such as these could be greatly multiplied, but one writer epitomized what I would like to call the Enlightenment war on terror: the baron d'Holbach. A wealthy German nobleman who presided over one of the most sought-after *salons* in Paris—he was one of the few men to work at that profession—and who wrote prolifically, Holbach both reflected and propagated Enlightenment ideas. Scholars of the Enlightenment seem to regard him without exception as unoriginal.[23] At the same time, his very success in conveying prevalent ideas makes him historically interesting. Robert Darnton ranks Holbach as the second most popular author in prerevolutionary France. (Voltaire was number one.)[24]

In addition to Holbach's popularity, his place on the Enlightenment spectrum also makes this philosophe interesting. Unlike the "moderate Enlightenment," which Margaret Jacob and Jonathan Israel see in those writers who compromised with religion (in the form of deism rather than atheism) and authority (by calling for enlightened absolutism of limited monarchy rather than republicanism), Holbach was a proponent of the "radical Enlightenment."[25] That is, he made the strongest possible case on behalf of the Enlightenment—even if it had been made before. He therefore makes a good test case for the Enlightenment's resolve in its war on terror. If he saw anything good in terror, then this will speak volumes about the Enlightenment's reluctance to dispense with terror as a means toward—and a sign of—power.

Holbach had a great deal to say about terror. Indeed it was a central concept in his analysis of religion and government. For Holbach religion

was more or less identical with superstition, and the very first chapter of his book *La contagion sacrée, ou histoire naturelle de la superstition* is unambiguously titled "Origin of Superstition; terror was always its foundation." It begins with a favorite quote of philosophes, drawn from the ancient Roman writer Petronius: "Primus in orbe Deos fecit timor. [Fear made the first gods in the world.]"[26] Elsewhere in this work Holbach wrote that terror (*la terreur*) "presided over the formation of Gods."[27]

Holbach insisted, in characteristically lapidary style, "Man is superstitious only because he is afraid (*craintif*); he fears (*craint*) only because he is ignorant." Unlike writers who viewed religion as emerging from natural phenomena such as storms,[28] however, Holbach emphasized the intervention of clever swindlers who knew better than to believe the superstition they peddled but duped the common people into worshipping terrible, punitive gods. Perhaps drawing on the *Treatise of the Three Impostors* (a widely circulating treatise that condemned Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad as frauds who deliberately constructed false religions in order to seize power), Holbach described the world's first religions as the work of "impostors, identifying themselves with the Divinity," and who as rulers "exercised the most absolute power" and "reigned by terror (*régnerent par la terreur*)."[29] Elsewhere in *La contagion sacrée* he used the term "impostors" to denounce those who have "in all ages, in all countries" made use of "terror, ignorance and credulity" as the "true supports of their power."[30]

The phrase "in all ages, in all countries" indicated that terror was not simply a feature of ancient polities. Unlike philosophes—Voltaire comes immediately to mind—who saw progress, however slow and halting, in history—Holbach insisted that humanity had not improved from its primitive condition. Ancient theocratic governments were necessarily "violent and tyrannical, since terror was always their foundation."[31] But things had not improved since antiquity. In *Le bon sens* (Common Sense), an eighteenth-century best seller,[32] Holbach insisted that "the religious opinions of men of all countries are ancient and lasting monuments of the ignorance, the credulity, the terror and the ferocity of their ancestors."[33]

Nor could "religious opinions" be separated from forms of domination. Holbach saw "tyranny and superstition" as natural allies:

> Both reign through terror, ignorance and prejudice; both are sworn enemies to human reason and to truth; each gives the other reciprocal aid: superstition leads astray, intoxicates minds, while tyranny subjugates and beats them down. The former justifies the excesses of the latter; [superstition] forces the people to expiate crimes that it allows [tyranny]; it presents the world as a temporary abode in which mortals are destined to suffer, in order that [tyranny] may freely commit its ravages. In a word we see everywhere that the

> Priest disarms the subject and makes him tremble so that the Despot may despoil him with impunity.[34]

The imagery of intoxication, beating down, committing ravages, disarming and forcing subjects to tremble serves in the depiction of terror as a manifestation of extreme power. In his *Lettres à Eugénie*, a series of fictional epistles to a friend at risk of falling under the spell of superstition, Holbach put it concisely: "Terror has been and always will be the surest means of deceiving and subjugating men."[35] Another way of depicting this power imbalance between the source of terror and its victim was to envision the latter as a child. Anticipating Kant's view that fear keeps people in a state of perpetual nonage, Holbach wrote that superstition "always" endeavored to keep "the human mind" in a condition of "eternal childhood." "It crushed it with terrors; it frightened (*effraya*) it with phantoms which prevented it from moving forward."[36]

Still another means of conveying the violence of a force that could "crush" its victims was to describe terror (the emotion rather than the regime provoking it) as an illness. This idea is implicit in the title *La contagion sacrée*. In that book terror is a "dangerous epidemic" that "fills the imagination with frightful chimeras (*chimères effrayantes*)." Thus the superstitious person "can be compared to those hypochondriacs who are continuously alarmed by their imaginary ills and who, ceaselessly worried about their health which nothing appears to threaten, see danger everywhere, fear meeting death at every step, and end up becoming truly sick from anxiety (*d'inquiétudes*)."[37] Holbach was precise about who was spreading the sickness of terror. He wrote, "Our priests, like many physicians, begin by making us sick with the terrors that they inspire in us, just to have the pleasure of consoling us with hopes that they sell to us at a dear price."[38]

If terror was a sickness, philosophy was the cure, and though Holbach maintained that terror had dominated humanity since time immemorial, he held out hope that one day *la philosophie* would triumph. At an individual level, at least, clear thinking—which for Holbach meant materialism and atheism—could conquer terror. Writing to "Eugénie," who has been traumatized by stories about hell and fears for her soul, Holbach insists that philosophy is the cure for such psychological suffering. He confesses that he was once the victim of similar fears, but "thanks to reason and philosophy, long ago calm returned to my mind; I banished from it the terrors that used to agitate it."[39]

Divine Terror

Holbach's vigorous attack on terror and the agents he identified behind it, like similar assaults in the century prior to the French Revolution, suggests that the Enlightenment was committed to ameliorating the terrified

condition in which humanity found itself. It supports the interpretation of Horkheimer and Adorno. In what follows, however, I would like to investigate some of the intellectual forces that opposed the Enlightenment war on terror. Let us first examine the conception of terror as an attribute of God, which in turn associated it with majesty and justice.

Even in the age of the Enlightenment the Bible was a widely read book, however its readers felt about its meaning, authorship, divinity, or moral worth.[40] Much of the Old Testament is devoted to God striking terror into his creatures and in the process signifying his sovereignty over creation. The most famous example of this theme is in the liberation of the Israelites from Egyptian bondage. The prophet Jeremiah offers a thanksgiving prayer to God for having "led your people Israel out of the land of Egypt with signs and portents and with a strong hand and an outstretched arm, and with great terror (*in terrore magno*)."[41] While the Israelites are in God's favor, they benefit from, and participate in, the terror God inflicts on other nations. In the book of Exodus, after enumerating the Ten Commandments and other precepts, God promises, in exchange for fidelity, "I shall send my terror ahead of you, and I shall kill every people to whom you come, and I shall turn the backs of all your enemies from you."[42] But the Chosen People must paradoxically feel terror of God in order to be in his favor. The psalmist asks God to "[p]ut terror" into "the nations," so that they "know that they are only men."[43] Here terror is a quintessentially human quality. "Man" (*homo*) or "the nations" (*gentes*) are the proper subjects of this emotion. Indeed, in many Biblical passages fear of God, sometimes called *timor Dei*[44] but often described as *terror*, is a sign of moral goodness. It indicates ones humanity, that is, the fact that one is "only" human and therefore subservient to God.

If the Bible provided the template for many subsequent conceptions of terror, one did not have to believe in its truth to have a positive view of the relationship between terror and God. Rousseau, for example, described terror as a gift of God. He wrote, "Death is terrible to us, and we call this terror an evil (*un mal*). Pain is also an evil for him who suffers, I admit. But pain and pleasure were the only means of attaching a sentient and mortal being to its own preservation, and these means have been managed with a goodness (*une bonté*) worthy of the Supreme Being."[45] The deistic reflections of Louis Sébastien Mercier are similarly telling. In his futuristic/utopian novel *The Year 2440*—which Darnton ranks as the number one best seller of pre-Revolutionary France—Mercier writes from the perspective of an eighteenth-century Frenchman who has fallen into a centuries-long sleep and awakes in a society that has solved its problems. Among these is religious dogmatism. The narrator relates his visit to a deist temple:

> If you raised your eyes toward the temple's summit, you saw the bare sky; for the dome was not closed by a stone vault, but by

> transparent windows. Sometimes a clear and serene sky announced the goodness of the creator; sometimes thick clouds which poured out torrents of rain depicted the darkness of life and said that this dismal earth is only a place of exile: thunder revealed how dreadful (*redoubtable*) this God is when offended; and the calm weather that succeeded the flaming lightning announced that submission disarms his vengeful hand.

As in Christianity, God could be terrible or affectionate, but for Mercier this contrast was itself a source of terror. He describes his reaction to seeing the worshippers at prayers:

> Everyone was struck with a religious and profound respect; many were prostrate, their faces against the floor. In the midst of this silence, of this universal respect, I was seized with a sacred terror (*je fus saisi d'une terreur sacrée*): it seemed as if the divinity had descended into the temple and filled it with his invisible presence.… [I]n these moments of adoration silence was so religiously observed that the sanctity of the place, combined with the idea of the supreme being, brought to everyone's heart a profound and salutary impression.[46]

Even in a utopian writer who criticized virtually every aspect of his own society, then, including its religious beliefs and practices, the notion of a terrible God was self-evident. Implicitly, too, Mercier linked terror with respect for authority and the prospect of just punishment in the case of disobedience. In his religious musings he left as an open question the degree to which the right to terrify in this way devolved upon earthly, human agents of justice. But simply by associating terror with God's will and right action, he elevated both the emotion of terror and the act of terrifying.

Monarchs and Nations as Terrors of Their Enemies

Another obstacle to the Enlightenment war on terror was the fact that sovereigns and their supporters repeatedly linked terror to majesty, glory, and the rightful exercise of power. It was a short step from recommending sacred terror before God to praising earthly rulers as sources of terror. Just as God had made his Chosen People terrifying when they fought under his banner, he seemed to have chosen states and rulers among contemporaries and endowed them with the privilege of provoking extreme fear. Even the French king's coronation oath required him to bring "pavor, terror et formido"—the first two words are synonymous with terror, and "formido" roughly means fear or dread—to "foreigners and plotters" (*aliisque*

insidiantibus).[47] Moreover, this image was an important part of the king's self-representation, appearing, for example, in commemorative medals. A coin struck to celebrate France's conquest of Besançon in 1668 depicts Louis XIV on the obverse and the caption "terror nominis" (the terror of his name) on the reverse.[48] In an ode to Louis XIV written to thank him for his support of scholarship, Antoinette Deshoulières lauded the monarch for "spreading terror from the Ganges to the ice floes."[49]

Other members of the Bourbon family received the appellation of *terreur*. The duc d'Orléans, who ruled as regent during the minority of Louis XV, was flattered by a reforming petitioner who wished to abolish the salt tax as "the terror and the delight of the human race (*la terreur & les délices du genre humain*)."[50] Decades later, the unpopular Louis XV was chastised for *not* being terrible. In a libelous pamphlet against the royal mistress Madame de Pompadour, a fictitious spy overhears her berating the king by comparing him unfavorably with his ancestors. Beginning with Henri IV, the first of the Bourbons, she says, "Like you, he loved women to excess, he was their dupe, as you are, but he compensated for his faults with so many brilliant qualities that they [his faults] were all forgotten." She adds, "He was frank, humane, affable, popular, he was the terror of his enemies and the father of his people."[51]

It was not only absolute rulers who aspired to the status of terror to their enemies (or neighbors). In the constitutional monarchy across the Channel from France, William III appeared on a commemorative coin as "omnis propinqui terror," the terror of all his neighbors.[52] A medal struck in 1691 to celebrate the surrender of Galloway during the Jacobite rebellion features the same ruler and depicts his victory as having been won "by his arms and by the terror of his name (*armis, nominisque terror*)."[53] In 1727, in a speech thanking George II for the professorship in cameral science established at Halle (in the British king's native Hanover), a happy university administrator was careful to note that by means of "numerous and choice armies" the monarch had been able to "do great deeds and bring fear and terror (*Furcht und Schrecken*) to other peoples."[54]

Even the most prominent Enlightenment writers were not immune to the general trend of praising rulers by calling them terrors. Voltaire celebrated the most victorious years of Louis XIV's reign (in the 1670s) as a time when the king was "the terror of Europe" and France was a "happy nation."[55] He similarly lauded Charles XII, the Swedish king who in 1700 proved himself the "terror of the north" by defeating the armies of the Denmark, Poland, and Russia.[56] Diderot wrote more generally that "the only praise worthy of being coveted by a sovereign is [that of] the terror of his [or her] neighbors."[57]

Just as princes and commanders solicited a reputation for being terrible, those who claimed to speak in the name of nations used similar language.

In this respect the nascent ideology of nationalism inherited the vocabulary of absolutism. At the beginning of the eighteenth century John Toland argued that under the rule of honest members of Parliament, England would "reasonably expect all those Laws which are yet wanting to improve and settle our civil Constitution, to bring us into a better Temper or Union in all our Differences, to make the Militia useful, restore the Reputation of the Fleet, increase Trade, encourage Manufactures, maintain our Glory abroad, reform our Manners at home, and render us at once the Terror and Envy of the World."[58] Toland's use of "us" suggests that more was at stake than the reputation of any member of the royal family. Similarly, a quarter century later Roger Acherly imagined an original assembly of Britons in which a constitution was made. Among the things agreed to at this meeting was the creation of a navy whose mission it was to "carry Terror to the Enemies Coasts, in Distant Regions."[59] At the end of the Seven Years War (1756–63) an anonymous British "Well-wisher to his Country" argued that the "happy Union and Proportion" of the three elements of king, nobility, and commons would give rise to "that Strength and Beauty in the Structure; that is the Terror of our Enemies, and the Admiration of the World."[60] These authors saw nothing incompatible with the enlightened idea of representative government and the prospect of spreading terror to their neighbors.

Meanwhile, French authors were suggesting that their nation could be terrible as well. In 1765 Abbé Coyer, an economist who encouraged the nobility to become involved in commerce, made his argument for capitalism by writing, "Let us never forget that it is commerce that forms the Navy; that we would not have any armed fleets if we had not begun with merchant fleets; and that the Romans conquered in 50 years since they had vessels what they had not conquered in 300. Land armies only carry terror to a single place. The sea unites power with speed, it surrounds the land and forces it to submit."[61] A more colorful case for French terror, similarly based on an interpretation of the distant past, was made by Nicolas Bricaire de La Dixmerie in the guise of a "Gallic Sybil" who intoned in 1775, "The Gaul has stopped being formidable to the Nations? He used to bring war to all inhabited climes; his name alone used to spread terror among a hundred bellicose Peoples."[62] There was an implicit antiaristocratic tone in this call for Gallic regeneration, as the nobles habitually justified their privileges by claiming descent from the Franks who had conquered the Gauls. The comte de Mirabeau, just one year before the revolution that would make him famous for his defiance of monarchy, similarly paired republican ideology with a glorification of terror. Congratulating the Dutch republicans for their recent attempt to oust the *Stadhouder*, Willem V, Mirabeau wrote in 1788, "Honor to you forever, oh noble republicans! You left your goods and your homes rather than bending under the yoke of foreign domination or domestic oppression. Your flight cast terror into the soul of

the tyrant."[63] In retrospect one sees the language of the Reign of Terror, but it was hardly revolutionary terminology at the time. Kings as "sovereigns" had long profited from the vocabulary of terror; insofar as sovereignty shifted to the people, it was natural to characterize them as terrible.

Terror and Military Science

The association of sovereign powers with terror stemmed from their role in the prosecution of war, and as writers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries attempted to describe (and prescribe) the conduct of war, whether based on their own experiences or in light of general principles, they typically endorsed military terror as a legitimate aim. In 1682 the German legal theorist Samuel Pufendorf, whose work is the subject of David Lederer's contribution to this volume, wrote, "Although force and terror (*vis et terror*) are the most proper way of acting in war, nonetheless it is permitted to employ trickery and sleight of hand, as long as honor is not impugned."[64] What, precisely, he meant by maintaining honor while setting traps for the enemy need not concern us. The important point is that for Pufendorf it was subterfuge that needed justifying; terror went without saying. Significantly, the author began his sentence with the word "although" (*etsi*), indicating that he expected his readers to take terror, like force itself, for granted.

A generation later Leibniz was even more explicit in his endorsement of terror. The philosopher whom Voltaire would pillory as Dr. Pangloss in *Candide* for believing that all was for the best in the best of all possible worlds held a characteristically optimistic view of terror in war. He went so far as to justify the custom of "destroying entire cities and running the inhabitants through with swords in order to excite terror in others (*pour donner de la terreur aux autres*)," as this practice could "shorten a great war or rebellion," thus "sparing blood by spilling it."[65] At midcentury David Hume, whom we have seen as an opponent of ecclesiastical terror, had no problem with the kind of military terror that Leibniz endorsed. In his *History of Great Britain*, Hume praised General Monck, who in 1651 had destroyed the city of Dundee and "put the whole inhabitants to the sword" in order to suppress the Scottish rebellion and "strike a general terror into the kingdom." Hume claimed that other Scottish cities, "warned by this example," put down their arms.[66] He was similarly sanguine about the "just terror" that the "arms of the Parliament" struck into the Irish in 1649, and noted that the "numerous army" of the Commonwealth was able "to strike a terror into foreign nations."[67] Other historians followed Hume's model of praising past military commanders or forces for their ability to incite terror. Thus Edward Gibbon wrote in his *Decline and Fall*

of the Roman Empire that the Roman armies, precisely by being "terrible," prevented unnecessary bloodshed during the period of the Pax Romana (roughly the first two centuries CE), and that "[t]he terror of the Roman arms added weight and dignity to the moderation of the emperors."[68]

Other writers on military matters addressed the issue of terror in wartime at considerably less remove. The Duke of Berwick, a Jacobite fighting for the French crown, recalled his use of terror during the War of the Spanish Succession. After a long siege of the city of Xativa in 1707, he wrote in his memoirs, "[i]n order to impress terror, and by an example of severity to prevent the like obstinacy, I caused the city to be totally destroyed, leaving only the principal church standing; and I sent away all the inhabitants into Castile [from Valencia], forbidding them ever to return into their country."[69] The marquis de Feuquière, a veteran of Louis XIV's wars and (as the *Biographie universelle* describes him) the author of "the first writing of any importance to appear in France on military tactics," encouraged commanders to camp in places that were amenable to quickly sending "large detachments to reduce by the terror of arms the extremities of the country" in which one was fighting.[70] Gathering all of one's troops in large, visible musters was another means of "inspiring terror in the Enemy."[71] Once terrified, Feuquière wrote, entire garrison towns could be taken and their inhabitants held as prisoners. Thus Louis XIV "made use of the terror of the people" and took twenty thousand prisoners during the Dutch campaign of 1672.[72] Feuquière was instrumental in the notoriously brutal subjugation of the Palatinate in 1688, where he claimed to have seized an infantry captain who was "stupid enough" (*assez imbécile*) to approach him without first asking for his word of honor—as in Pufendorf's maxim, ruse is permitted when it does not damage ones honor—and when news spread of the capture, terror (*la terreur*) similarly spread among the people of the region.[73] When quartering for the winter in a subject town or city in which the population was reluctant to provide sufficient contributions, commanders were advised to spread terror (*la terreur*) by "kidnapping (*enlever*) some important persons in the area or burning a large residence."[74] Finally, nothing spread terror like surprising an army at night and "tormenting" it with artillery.[75] In the preface to a later edition of the marquis's memoirs, his brother could think of no greater tribute than to write that for thirty-five years "he spread terror everywhere."[76]

The comte de Guibert, though he penned his thoughts on tactics after Feuquière, is better known to students of European military history. His proposed reforms in the French army in the wake of its defeat by Prussia during the Seven Years War are thought to have ushered in a more modern, rationalized force, which in turn made possible the revolutionary and Napoleonic armies.[77] Yet Guibert did not shy away from advocating the very traditional goal of inspiring debilitating fear in the enemy. He praised

the motley Austrian army, the product of many provincial militias, because it "recalls to the imagination those proud soldiers of Dacia and Panonia, their ancestors, who were long the terror…of the Roman Empire."[78] He admired Gustavus Adolphus, who together with "25,000 Swedes" at the time of the Thirty Years War (1618–48) constituted "the terror of the [Holy Roman] Empire."[79] He recalled with patriotic pride the Maréchal de Catinat, who had won Strasbourg for France by using a devastating combination of "bribery and terror."[80] And he repeatedly recommended tactics that he designated with the adjective "terrible." Thus, for example, the use of bayonets, "reserved for decisive occasions, would have something imposing and terrible about it; it would be like the red flag of the ancients, a sign of death and of carnage."[81]

The Terror of the Law and the Death Penalty

If states and the people who led or represented them were expected to instill terror in enemy nations—or in some cases simply "neighbors"—there was an expectation that potential criminals in their midst would similarly tremble at the prospect of punishment. The formula of *aliisque insidiantibus* suggested a mental pairing of aliens or "others" on the one hand and "insidious" enemies lurking within the sovereign's jurisdiction on the other. The latter were the province of law and justice, which were deeply associated with the concept of terror.

The importance of terror to western legal thinking was such that it was explicitly written into criminal law itself. Long before the Enlightenment, when François I introduced the practice of breaking burglars on the wheel in 1534, he justified the law by affirming that the punishment was meant "to give fear (*crainte*), terror (*terreur*) and an example to all other people."[82] More than two centuries later, in 1762, the *parlement* of Toulouse condemned Jean Calas to death for allegedly murdering a son who was about to convert from Protestantism to Catholicism. The role of the *parlements* in challenging French absolutism, recommending checks and balances in government, and thus preparing the ground for the Revolution is well known, yet in the Calas case the magistrates did not hesitate to rule with brutal terror. Indeed they used the concept of terror to justify their chilling sentence. The executioner was to

> break and crush [Calas's] arms and legs, thighs and hips: next he will expose him on a wheel that will be erected right next to the scaffold, his face turned toward Heaven, remaining alive in pain and repentance of his said crimes and misdeeds: to serve as an example and *to give terror to the wicked*, for as long as it shall please God to

> keep him alive, and his corpse will be thrown onto a roaring bonfire, prepared for this purpose on the said location, to be consumed by the flames, and then his ashes will be cast to the wind.[83]

Similarly, in eighteenth-century Edinburgh prosecutors typically justified the executions they called for by referring to the terror these punishments would inspire in others. In a much-repeated formula, in their complaints they wrote that should the defendants be found guilty of their crimes, they "ought to be punished with the pains of law, *to the terror of others* from committing the like in time coming."[84]

The connection between punishment and terror was enshrined in the thinking of Enlightenment legal and political philosophers. John Locke described the "magistrate's sword" as "a terror to evil doers," thus referring implicitly to the fact that the law and its administrators could kill criminals.[85] Viscount Bolingbroke agreed that "reparation and terror" are "objects essential to the constitution of human justice."[86] Voltaire himself, who turned the Calas Affair into a cause célèbre and persuaded the Toulouse court to rehabilitate the wrongly executed man, does not seem to have had a problem with terror as such. He publicized the case as a classic example of fanaticism still at work in an age of Enlightenment, but he was primarily incensed by the miscarriage of justice, believing as he did that Calas was innocent, and by the anti-Protestant prejudice that led to the presumption of his guilt. He disapproved of ghastly executions such as the one Calas had been forced to endure, but not because they were "terrible," as is seen in his reasoning the following year, 1763, when he published the second volume of his *Histoire de l'empire de Russie*. Empress Elizabeth of Russia had just abolished the death penalty for all crimes except treason. Voltaire wrote enthusiastically, "Malefactors have been condemned to the mines, to public works: their punishments have become useful to the State." This development was "no less wise than humane." "Everywhere else," Voltaire added, "we only know how to kill a criminal with pomp and circumstance, without ever having prevented crime." And further: "The terror of death makes less of an impression perhaps on wicked people who for the most part are lazy than the fear (*la crainte*) of painful work that is reborn every day."[87]

Voltaire's reasoning here is utilitarian. Killing a criminal is useless. Making the criminal work is useful. Terror (*la terreur*) and fear (*la crainte*) are useful, but one must know what produces these emotions. Spectacular executions fail to produce the requisite terror, but the prospect of lifelong labor creates the motivating fear in the "lazy" troublemaker and therefore promises to reduce crime. Beccaria thought along similar lines. He was not against terror per se. Indeed, the Milanese reformer famously opposed capital punishment because he thought it *insufficiently* terrifying. "What

is the political goal of punishments? (*Qual è il fine politico delle pene?*)" he asked. "The terror of other men (*Il terrore degli altri uomini*)."[88] As to the death penalty, this was "becoming a show (*uno spettacolo*) for the most part, and an object of compassion mixed with disdain for some." Observers of executions were imbued with these feelings, Beccaria believed, "not the salutary terror (*il salutare terrore*) that the Law claims to inspire."[89] A more effective means of instilling this terror, according to Beccaria, was the prospect of lifelong confinement and hard labor.

Jean-Nicolas Démeunier, a philosophe who would later consult Thomas Jefferson when preparing an encyclopedia article on the United States,[90] weighed in on the capital punishment debate in 1776. He believed that it was "permissible to protest against the harshness of the laws when a deserter is shot or a valet hanged for having stolen twenty-five cents," but insisted that "murder deserves neither pardon nor indulgence." Démeunier understood the sympathy people might feel for the "impassioned or brutal man who kills his fellow creature" but reminded readers that such a person was "a dangerous being from whom it is important to save the state." Addressing the subject of terror explicitly, and implicitly arguing against Voltaire and Beccaria, he wrote, "The terror that the sight of death inspires often stops villains, no matter what is said to the contrary, and perpetual slavery, hard and painful labor, even public infamy do not suppress as strongly [the impulse to commit murder]." At the same time, he wrote, "It would be a dreadful sight to see so many wretches constantly in the hands of hangmen." Therefore "modern" governments should "promptly execute criminals" and see to it that "the machinery of death lasts long enough to horrify, but not long enough to aggrieve the nation habitually."[91] It is interesting to note how carefully Démeunier calibrates the appropriate level of fear. Terror (*la terreur*) is necessary to prevent people from turning to crime, and executions must horrify (*épouvanter*) without being dreadful (*affreux*). Démeunier's opposition to drawn-out executions, like his support of brief ones, is clearly utilitarian. It is not based on a notion of rights or natural law, but on the effect perceiving such a sight has on the senses and, presumably, on behavior. Elsewhere Démeunier objects not to capital punishment per se, but to its overuse. He writes, "Executions no longer inspire terror because they are too often used, and the death penalty would horrify criminals if it had always been reserved for extraordinary cases."[92] His only quarrel with Beccaria and Voltaire, then, concerns whether the prospect of death can *ever* prevent people from acting upon criminal impulses. All three writers agree, however, that the goal of punishment should be the terror of others.

The utilitarian strain in thinking about terror is evident as well in Jeremy Bentham, who noted in 1780 that there were "cases where punishment is needless," namely, "where the purpose of putting an end to the practice

may be attained as effectually at a cheaper rate: by instruction, for instance, as well as by terror."[93] Bentham, who is widely seen as the founder of utilitarianism, adapted Beccaria's belief that laws should promote the greatest happiness of the greatest number.[94] But there was an implicit utilitarian calculus involved in most of the statements on terror discussed up to this point. The assumption was that terror would cause unhappiness in a limited number of people, especially those with a penchant for aggression or lawlessness, but that the overall effect would be an increase in happiness insofar as terror prevented greater misfortunes from occurring. Bentham's notion of a "cheaper rate" is revealing, as is the equivalency he establishes between "instruction" and "terror."[95] Both are tools for achieving an end, namely, a minimum of disorder or pain, and there is nothing inherently good or bad about the one or the other. Their desirability is to be measured in their costs relative to the cost of punishment, and all three are understood in terms of their price vis-à-vis that of crime or unrest. How Bentham thought that "terror" could be produced in the absence of punishment need not detain us. In any case, most of Bentham's contemporaries believed that the terror of punishment prevented greater misfortunes.

The Aesthetics of Terror

In addition to its utilitarian value, terror held aesthetic value for many writers in the age of the Enlightenment. The best-known aesthetic case for terror comes from *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757), by the Irish philosopher Edmund Burke. (Ironically, Burke is remembered by students of political philosophy for his critique of the French Revolution, but his fame originally came from a book in which he wrote very positive things about terror.) Burke wrote the following in his *Philosophical Enquiry*: "Whatever is fitted in any sort to excite the ideas of pain, and danger, that is to say, whatever is in any sort terrible, or is conversant about terrible objects, or operates in a manner analogous to terror, is a source of the *sublime*; that is, it is productive of the strongest emotion which the mind is capable of feeling."[96]

The year after Burke published his thoughts on the sublime, Helvétius discoursed at length on the relationship between terror and pleasure. In *De l'esprit*, he wrote of the skill of the poet who was capable of depicting a stormy sea; he asked rhetorically, "The picture of the bellowing seas, the whistling of the winds and the bursts of thunder, could it not increase the secret terror and, consequently, the pleasure in seeing the spectacle of a furious sea?"[97] Whether or not he was directly influenced by Burke when writing *De l'esprit*, by the end of his life Helvétius was speaking the language of the terrible sublime, and in his posthumously published book,

De l'homme (1773), he argued that "the sensation of the sublime always contains that of an incipient terror."[98] Similarly, Diderot applied Burke's principles to his criticism of painting, celebrating as sublime those canvases presented at the biennial royal *salon* that conveyed the most authentic feeling of terror.[99]

It is possible that Horace Walpole, who inaugurated the genre of the gothic novel with his *Castle of Otranto* in 1764, was thinking of Burke when he wrote—disclaiming authorship of a book he had merely "found"—"Terror, the author's principal engine, prevents the story from ever languishing."[100] When James Macpherson claimed to have discovered an ancient Scottish bard named Ossian and published his work, he praised the "terrible beauty" of the poet's creations.[101] William Duff, one of the many fans of "Ossian," used Burkean language when he wrote, in 1770, that "the greatness of Ossian's genius no where so remarkably appears as in the images he has derived from the appearances of spirits and ghosts, which give a solemn sublimity to his descriptions, accompanied with circumstances of terror," and he praised the poet for his "sublime awful and terrific grandeur."[102] Hugh Blair similarly celebrated the "most amazing and terrible majesty" of Ossian's hero and characterized the poet's work as "sublime."[103]

Yet the notion that terror had aesthetic value long predated Burke. Many enlightened predecessors had adopted Aristotle's maxim that tragic theater was meant to excite the emotions of terror and pity, as well as his claim that experiencing these feelings was cathartic. In 1721 Joseph Addison assessed theatrical productions accordingly, noting that "[t]error and commiseration leave a pleasing anguish in the mind."[104] A decade later Voltaire judged tragedies by their ability to provoke feelings of terror and pity, though he also believed that one could go too far. Aeschylus, in his view, carried terror to excess, and many English playwrights confused the edifyingly terrible with the merely horrible (*effroyable*).[105] David Hume, writing in the same year Burke's treatise appeared, averred that terror in tragedy could produce a pleasing effect, but only when accompanied by objects of beauty.[106] The German dramatist and critic Gotthold Ephraim Lessing argued that the audience's terror on behalf of the threatened tragic hero furthered its ability to feel sympathy, and though his ideas on the subject appeared in 1767, they probably owed more to Lessing's Aristotelian orientation than to Burke's influence.[107]

Of course, there was a difference between terror as experienced by a theatergoer, poetry reader, or painting viewer and the terror that executions were supposed to produce in those who witnessed them. (The terror felt by the victim on the gallows or the wheel, sadly, was always a secondary matter for advocates of capital punishment.) In one case imaginary suffering took place, in the other a real person underwent an excruciating ordeal. Both fictional and real displays of terrible suffering, however, were

meant to be viewed. They required spectators. Indeed, Beccaria criticized the public execution as *uno spettacolo* (though he envisioned a different kind of spectacle of suffering in the form of forced labor). Moreover, it is conceivable that the elevation of aesthetic terror contributed to the valorization of the more violent types of terror. In any event, by making terror beautiful or sublime, aesthetic writers gave it an appeal that went beyond the merely utilitarian. That terror contributed to moral improvement was all the better, but its sublimation hinted at a more transcendent value, suggesting that it was perhaps a good in and of itself.

Holbach's Ambivalence

Having seen the allure that terror held for many eighteenth-century writers—its connection with divine power, with rightful rulership, with law and order, and with aesthetic value—it is worth returning to the work of Holbach, whose war on terror played such an important role in his attack on clerical superstition and earthly tyranny. Here I would like to suggest that even Holbach had some reservations about dispensing with terror, that he even valued it, and that his wavering on the subject is paradigmatic of the Enlightenment's ambivalence.

A recurring theme in Holbach's writing is the idea of a "brake" on immoral actions. The philosophe repeatedly insists that religion, especially Christianity, with its doctrine of eternal damnation, does not restrain depraved people.[108] He writes, "Many people will say that it is better to have some sort of brake [on the actions of immoral people] than to have none. They claim that if religion does not impose itself upon the majority, it serves at least to restrain (*contenir*) certain individuals who, without it, would throw themselves into crime without remorse." His response to this claim is interesting: "It is necessary, without doubt, to have a brake on men, but they do not need an imaginary brake: they should have real and visible brakes, they should have true fears, which will be much more likely to restrain them, than panic terrors and chimeras." Although he distinguishes between legitimate (and authorized) fears (*des craintes*) on the one hand and panic terrors on the other, Holbach nevertheless approves of the use of fear in the enforcement of morality. He writes, "Religion only frightens a few pusillanimous minds whose weakness of character already makes them little feared by their compatriots," thus suggesting that the problem with this sort of terror is that it is ineffective, by which he means that it is not sufficiently terrifying. Holbach clarifies what is necessary: "A fair government, severe laws, and healthy morality [must] affect everyone equally."[109]

Elsewhere Holbach reiterates his conviction by maintaining that "distant terrors" (*des terreurs éloignées*) are ineffective in restraining immoral

people. In general people "will always be more struck (*frappés*) by present advantages and by visible punishments than by the pleasures and tortures announced for the afterlife." Holbach adds, "The fear of hell will not restrain criminals whom the fear of contempt, infamy, and the gibbet is incapable of restraining."[110] Significantly, he does not oppose the existence of gibbets. For some people, he suggests, they are not necessary, and he affirms that "public esteem has more power over well-bred men (*des hommes bien nés*) than the terror of the laws." Not all people, however, are in this category, and a "just, enlightened, virtuous, vigilant government" will know that "visible punishments in this world have a much greater effect on crude men (*des hommes grossiers*) than do punishments in an uncertain and distant future." Likewise, such a government is aware that "palpable goods (*les biens sensibles*) that the sovereign power is in a position to distribute touch the imagination of mortals much more than those vague rewards they are promised for the future."[111] Here Holbach's sensationalism, that is, his conviction that knowledge comes through the senses, informs his belief in the need for harsh punishments, at least for *des hommes grossiers*, just as it explains his call for "palpable" rewards in return for good behavior.

Another distinction Holbach makes is between the powerful and the weak. It is cruel to torment weak people with stories of hell. On the other hand, Holbach writes that "the terrors of the afterlife would be pardonable lies if they served to make kings tremble."[112] Unfortunately, priests were only too ready to absolve monarchs of their crimes.[113] Holbach detected an imbalance, and hence an injustice, in the distribution of terror. Timid and "well-bred" people were suffering from too much fear, while ruffians and kings were not frightened enough. Holbach urged his readers, "Let us remove from impostors and tyrants a God that serves them by horrifying (*épouvanter*), subjugating and despoiling the human race." But he was quick to add:

> While removing the [impostors' and tyrants'] fearful ideas from decent people (*honnêtes gens*), let us not reassure the wicked, the enemies of society; let us deprive them of the resources upon which they count to expiate their misdeeds; for uncertain and distant terrors, which could not stop their excesses, *let us substitute real and present terrors*; may they blush to see themselves as they are, may they quake (*qu'ils frémissent*) to find their plots discovered; may they tremble (*qu'ils tremblent*) in fear of one day seeing the mortals whom they abused returning from the errors which [the impostors and tyrants] had used to enchain them.[114]

This fantasy of terrifying the terrible is particularly vivid, envisioning corporeal signs: blushing, quaking, and trembling. In retrospect one sees an early expression of the imperative made famous by the "Marseillaise": "tremblez, tyrans!" Holbach's vision is a fantasy of revolutionary

vengeance in which the persecuted seize power, though the precise nature of retribution is left to the imagination. Did Holbach endorse violence for the sake of punishment? What were the "real and present terrors" to which the "wicked, the enemies of society" would have to submit?

Holbach's view of capital punishment was ambivalent. On the one hand, the philosophe asked rhetorically, "Isn't public opinion stronger than the terror of the laws…? Are executions, so cruelly multiplied, capable of having an impact on so many miserable people whom a thousand united causes push incessantly to crime?"[115] On the other hand, he wrote elsewhere:

> A wise police is the support of liberty, it is only to be feared (*à craindre*) by license. Like the Laws, it has to rule according to the circumstances in which Society finds itself; it has to redouble its vigilance and severity to the degree that vices, crimes and poverty multiply, because in these cases the security of the Citizens diminishes. The more people are unruly, the more the public force has to contain them through terror (*par la terreur*).[116]

In retrospect, one sees in Holbach's thinking the logic of Robespierre: virtue and terror are two sides of the same coin. In order to guarantee the former, it is necessary to enact the latter. The security of citizens paradoxically demands the terror of others, of people who will be labeled "unruly" (*déréglé*). Similarly, just as Robespierre was a reluctant convert to belief in the death penalty—though he displayed the zeal of a convert once convinced of the position—Holbach seems truly to have resisted the temptation to support execution. He wrote, "In the eyes of fairness there are very few crimes that merit death." Following Beccaria (and Rousseau), he asserted, "The fear of death would make a greater impression if the death penalty were less prodigiously used."[117] And again recapitulating Beccaria's (and Voltaire's) argument, he asked, "Would Society not be better compensated through the labor of the guilty than by the execution that annihilates them?" He answered his own question: "Rigorous work would punish more usefully (*plus utilement*) than death itself." Yet he went on to claim, "Nevertheless there are crimes so black, crimes that set such a fatal example, that their punishment must inspire terror (*inspirer de la terreur*). In these cases it is not the guilty one who profits at all from his punishment; it has as its goal frightening (*d'effrayer*) unreasonable beings who could imitate him."[118]

Conclusion: A Conservation of Terror?

Ultimately, the Enlightenment war on terror was a failure. Thinkers such as Holbach cheerfully assailed terror when it was used by "fanatics" and "tyrants," but they reserved the right to deploy it in case reason alone failed to

disperse those same foes—or the more ordinary miscreants who seemed to threaten society. Their acceptance of terror prepared the way for the Terror, though it would be unfair and simplistic to hold them solely responsible for the excesses of the French Revolution. One possible explanation for their failure was simply the weight of tradition. The Enlightenment inherited long-standing habits of associating terror with divine majesty and justice, rightful kingship, military prowess, social order and aesthetic beauty, and though its advocates often proclaimed a (no doubt sincere) desire to emancipate humanity from fear through a reasoned examination of the order of things, old habits were hard to break, or even to recognize. Another explanation, however, is available, which does not contradict what has just been said but may serve to supplement it. Namely, the prospect of eliminating fear may have been itself a source of anxiety among Enlightenment thinkers. The abolition of hell's torments through the unmasking of the church's insidious intentions may indeed have raised the prospect of removing a "brake" on human action, as Christian apologists had long warned; and though writers such as Holbach repeatedly asserted the inefficacy of this brake, perhaps they were protesting too much. With the disappearance of one kind of terror, Enlightenment thinkers may have been all the more motivated to look for other types. As noted earlier, Holbach called for "real and visible brakes" and "true fears" to replace the "panic terrors and chimeras" that the church had invented. Perhaps, then, there was a principle of the conservation of terror at work in the Enlightenment. This, in turn, helps to explain the failure of the Enlightenment war on terror. Any war on terror, it would seem, is doomed to failure when accompanied by a fear of the very people it promises to liberate.

CHAPTER 3

"When Fear Rather than Reason Dominates"

PRIESTS BEHIND THE LINES IN THE TUPAC AMARU REBELLION (1780–83)

CHARLES WALKER, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, DAVIS

On November 4, 1780, José Gabriel Condorcanqui Noguera had lunch with Antonio de Arriaga in Yanaoca, near Tinta to the south of Cuzco.[1] José Gabriel was a *cacique* (also called *kuraka*) of the towns of Pampamarca, Surimana, and Tungasuca. He was thus a local authority in the Andes who mediated between the colonial state and the indigenous population, and his duties included the collection of taxes and assignation of labor burdens on indigenous people. Such may well have seemed an entirely natural arrangement in its day. For despite the creeping, and unpopular, tendency for the Bourbon authorities to invest Europeans with the position in the latter part of the eighteenth century, *caciques* were generally the indigenous faces of the administration, often being descendants of the Inca lords and thus "royal." Indeed José Gabriel himself claimed descent from "the last Inca," Tupac Amaru, who had been executed by Viceroy Francisco Toledo in 1571, and whose name he increasingly used. For his part, Arriaga was a *corregidor*, the regional authority in charge of collecting taxes, assuring labor for Potosí and other mines, and keeping order. He was Tupac Amaru's superior and, as was usually the case for someone in his position, a Spaniard. Like most *corregidores*, Arriaga had a vast network of economic activities, lending money, selling goods, and collaborating with the more affluent. In fact, he had lent Tupac Amaru money, and they knew each other well enough to share a table. Tupac Amaru left the seemingly amicable meal early, feigning illness, and Arriaga departed hours later to return to Tinta, insisting that he had business to attend to. He never made it.

Tupac Amaru and a small group of Indians ambushed him on the steep trail that leads to Tinta. That evening, they took him in chains to the town of Tungasuca, where Tupac Amaru and his wife, Micaela Bastidas,

demanded that he write to his assistants in Tinta and request money and arms. The rebels then seized the money and weapons and imprisoned the officials. They also instructed Arriaga to convene regional authorities in Tungasuca. On November 9, they hanged Arriaga, claiming orders from the king of Spain. Although the actions were not unprecedented—other authorities in the Andes had been treated violently and even killed in previous decades—they shocked the thousands of people present as well as Spanish authorities in Cuzco. Tupac Amaru recruited supporters in nearby towns, attacked haciendas, and ransacked *obrajes* or textile mills, despised by Indians because of their brutal labor conditions. Tupac Amaru and Micaela Bastidas wrote—or dictated to scribes, including members of Arriaga's retinue—proclamations and letters to Andean towns that called for the expulsion of *corregidores* and the abolition of despised institutions such as the *mita* labor draft, all in the name of the king of Spain. The uprising grew quickly, spreading with particular speed in the southern areas toward Lake Titicaca.[2]

On November 17, rebels crushed Spanish forces in the town of Sangarará. More than five hundred died, including about twenty Europeans, and the town's church was burnt to the ground. Leaders from both sides denied having lit the fire. The rebel victory invigorated both sides. Insurgents learned they could defeat a Spanish battalion. This petrified the Spanish and hastened them to take the rebels more seriously. It also allowed them to cast the rebels as heathens or apostates who slaughtered innocent people and burned churches. Cuzco's bishop, Juan Manuel Moscoso y Peralta, quickly excommunicated Tupac Amaru. At this point, Tupac Amaru led a large group to the south while Micaela Bastidas remained in Tungasuca to recruit allies and monitor enemies. She proved to be an active, clever commander, assuring loyalty and overseeing logistics. She worried that Tupac Amaru was taking too long in his southern campaign, being well aware that Tungasuca, Tinta, and Pampamarca, the rebellion's base, were less than a hundred miles from the Spanish stronghold of Cuzco. Their forces grew, with one calculation putting them at fifty thousand strong by December.[3]

The Tupac Amaru forces surrounded the city of Cuzco at the end of the month. Despite controlling the bluffs and outnumbering royalist forces, however, they did not descend into the city. After a week of skirmishes, they turned back. Explanations as to why Tupac Amaru did not attack Cuzco include a desire to avoid bloodshed as the Spanish had put Indians at the front line, fear of being trapped within the city with royalist reinforcements due to arrive, concern about diminishing food supplies, and simple indecision by Tupac Amaru himself.[4] Some documents hint that his troops, weakened by their lack of food and the constant rain, suffered from diarrhea and other stomach ailments.[5]

Encouraged by their defense of Cuzco and bolstered by reinforcements from Lima, colonial forces went on the offensive in early 1781. They captured Tupac Amaru and much of his family on April 6. In a scene that virtually every Peruvian can recount, Tupac Amaru, Micaela, their son Hipólito, and five other members of their family and inner circle were brutally executed on May 18 in Cuzco's main plaza. A horse dragged Tupac Amaru to the plaza. After he witnessed the death of his loved ones, executioners cut out his tongue and attached him to four horses to be quartered. His limbs did not detach from his torso, however, and the *visitador* or general visitor, Antonio de Areche, ordered his decapitation. The rebels' body parts were displayed throughout the region, grisly reminders of the supposed defeat of the rebellion and the cost of insurgency.[6]

The Tupac Amaru Rebellion did not end on May 18, 1781. José Gabriel's cousin, Diego Cristóbal (usually referred to as Diego), took over the leadership and steered the rebellion south toward Lake Titicaca and Upper Peru or Charcas, which later became Bolivia. Confrontations became more violent as the rebel forces ransacked towns and some attacked anyone resembling a Spaniard. José Del Valle continued to lead the Spanish forces. Although offering amnesty, his forces executed anyone believed to have supported the rebels. Lines hardened and confrontations became even more brutal. While early in the rebellion many people believed they could remain neutral and avoid violence, this proved impossible by mid-1781. For example, Del Valle had to escort the remaining population of the city of Puno, which had withstood several rebel assaults, to safety. People in nearby Chucuito were not so fortunate: "everyone was put to the knife, no living soul being spared."[7] In mid-1781, critics deemed Del Valle a failure and even a coward for returning to Cuzco without having defeated the rebels. The belief that the execution of José Gabriel and Micaela meant the end of the rebellion proved false. Nonetheless, in January 1782, Diego Cristóbal Tupac Amaru accepted a Spanish offer of amnesty. He was arrested a year later on trumped up charges and executed in even more brutal fashion than Tupac Amaru, Micaela Bastidas, and family.[8]

The impact of the rebellion spread far beyond southern Peru. It linked to and contributed to the Katari uprisings in Upper Peru and reverberated in the River Plate, Chile, and New Granada or Colombia.[9] It ushered in a wave of anti-indigenous policies, which targeted with particular vehemence any mnemonic link to the Incan empire, the historical-ideological pillar of the uprising. Authorities banned Inca dances and dress as well as the work of *El Inca* Garcilaso de la Vega (1539–1616), the son of a conquistador and an Inca noble woman who wrote epic histories of the Incan Empire, widely read in Europe and the Americas. On the other hand, the Bourbons and their representatives had to tread lightly in the area, concerned about another uprising. Even the most hard-nosed Bourbon

bureaucrat recognized that uprisings proved to be costly setbacks in their campaign to rationalize control and, above all, increase revenue.[10] The Tupac Amaru Rebellion has become a symbol for the region of Cuzco as well as a variety of leftist sentiments and movements. For example, two modern guerrilla groups (the Uruguayan Tupamaros and Peru's Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru) assumed his name. U.S. students delight to know that Tupac Shakur was named after José Gabriel.

Historians and Fear

The historiography of the Tupac Amaru Rebellion is vast but unsatisfactory on key issues. We know surprisingly little about life in the midst of the rebellion and the forms of persuasion and coercion that took place. In fact, the questions regarding why some people joined and how they participated remain unanswered. Many, if not most, of the books are hagiographic biographies of José Gabriel (but not Micaela) that are rarely analytical. Military accounts tend to be abstract (such and such side won a battle here, lost another there) or focus on the failed siege of Cuzco or the brutal executions of Tupac Amaru and family. The fact that military history has been so out of fashion in recent decades has not helped. In the end, few studies contribute to our understanding of how battles were fought, who suffered, and how each side rallied or lobbied forces.[11]

Structural or sociopolitical analyses have dominated in recent decades. They have fruitfully probed which groups supported or opposed the rebels and why. Important works have highlighted why many *kurakas*, particularly those of the Sacred Valley, joined in the struggle against the Tupac Amaru rebels or why the insurgency spread in the commercial corridor between Cuzco and Potosí.[12] While these have illuminated many aspects of the rebellion and have brought the scholarship into dialogue with other works on insurgency and the eighteenth century, they have not explored how people lived the uprising. The questions that need to be addressed include: How did those people who hoped to remain neutral face (or avoid) rebel or viceregal forces? And how did those who presumably supported the Spanish survive in enemy-controlled areas? In general, the analysis has subsumed political behavior and outcomes under broad structural categories. It portrays a too neat division between rebels and royalists. Not only was the uprising sociologically complex, but many people remained neutral or changed sides.

A unique source provides insight into these questions. In 1781, after the capture of the rebel leaders, the bishop of Cuzco, Juan Manuel Moscoso y Peralta, prosecuted eighteen clerics—including priests, sacristans, and aides—for having written obsequious letters to Tupac Amaru or Micaela

Bastidas. The letters, found in the rebels' possession when they were captured, complimented rebel leaders and requested favors, ranging from protection to sugar. The writers were tried for pledging their support (at least implicitly) to the rebels and for communicating with someone who had been excommunicated. They wrote from the rebels' core area, in the valley to the south of Cuzco. Most of the letters were poorly written, mimicking the officious, baroque language that characterized the courtly discourse of the period. Parish priests were often small-town intellectuals or cultural brokers, linking officialdom (or the "lettered city" to use Angel Rama's concept) and the illiterate masses. I will focus on twelve of the eighteen cases, which particularly illuminate how priests experienced the uprising.

The accused almost uniformly presented the same line of defense: fear, *el miedo*. They argued that they had been caught behind the lines, in rebel territory, impeded from taking refuge in Cuzco or elsewhere by rebel sentinels or by the bishop's orders to remain. They claimed that circumstance—the desperate effort to save their lives or those of others—had forced them to write the letters. They had legal grounds for this defense. In Canon Law, the rules of conduct that marked investigations and trials of Church members, grave fear constitutes a valid excuse from censure "if the law is ecclesiastical and if its non-observance will not militate against the public good, the Faith, or the authority of the Church."[13] Canon 125, 2, states, "An act placed out of grave fear, unjustly inflicted, or out of malice is valid unless the law provides otherwise. It can be rescinded, however, through the sentence of a judge, either at the instance of the injured party or of the party's successors in law, or *ex oficio*." Canons 1324, 1325, and 1620 also present grave fear as a mitigating circumstance.[14] Yet the trials did not explore and debate such theological niceties. Instead, prosecutors presented the damning letter, and the defendant explained the dire situation that had forced him to write it. Witnesses either confirmed or contradicted the defendant's testimony. The debate then focused on the context—how grim was the situation and whether there were other options besides pledging support to the rebels—and the activities of the priest. The accused elaborated on how their lives were threatened or how the letters sought to protect others or Church property. Many of them noted with cautious indignation that prosecutors and other officials could not understand because they had not been there. Prosecutors also scrutinized the letters' prose, judging whether the obsequious passages had been a mere ruse or had been overly hyperbolic and thus perhaps a sign of sincere support for the insurgents.

The letters and trials are a wonderful entryway into daily life "behind the lines" and fear. They challenge the notion that people's roles in the uprising were relatively straightforward (for or against), largely determined by caste or class. Instead, they indicate how people changed sides or sought to remain neutral, and clarify how both sides attempted to attract and maintain

supporters and punish the opposition. They also shed light on the role of the Church in the uprising. Most studies have focused on priests who supported, at least tacitly, the rebels. Bishop Moscoso was later tried for his supposed laxness with the rebels, behavior that hard-liners saw as an indication of an ultimately subversive soul. That controversy has pushed the debate toward Moscoso and the priests who supported the rebels.[15] This essay instead confirms the vehement argument by the Polish-Argentine historian Boleslao Lewin that Moscoso and the vast majority of the clergy were staunch loyalists who fought against the rebels by organizing the faithful and condemning the insurgency.[16]

Anticlericalism has not characterized Peruvian historiography, particularly in the 1970s and 1980s, when much of the revisionist literature appeared. One explanation is that this period was the high point of Peruvian liberation theology and progressive priests had a significant intellectual presence, particularly in the southern Andes. Whatever the reason, scholars have not examined in depth how priests bolstered anti-insurgent efforts. These letters as well as other sources indicate that priests stayed behind the lines and formed a shadow government or fifth column, rallying royalist forces. They constituted an essential bulwark of Spanish rule that prevented the rebels from dominating southern Peru.[17]

Probing the multiple meanings and implications of fear can offer interesting and even novel entryways into the uprising. But what, on the other hand, can the rebellion contribute to our understanding of fear as a historical category? Perhaps what most stands out in a comparative assessment of the trials is the tangibility of fear. It was not the early modern (and beyond) anxiety over divine wrath, witches, or maladies such as plagues, fires, and religious violence. The letters did not refer to any type of abstract punishment or harm. Instead, writers feared losing their lives at the hands of nearby rebels and depicted real threats and near escapes from harm. One told a chilling story of insurgents backing up threats by displaying royalists' heads. Nor was it the anxiety of popular rumblings that Tocqueville portrays in *Democracy in America*, the growing fear of lower-class insubordination in the age of revolution. Although the writers discussed rumors and disseminated widespread angst about Indians and violence, an anxiety that gripped all of southern Peru and Charcas, their fear was based on concrete actions and specific threats. I develop these points in the conclusion.

"When Fear Rather than Reason Dominates"

Almost immediately after the November 17 rebel victory in Sangarará, Bishop Moscoso excommunicated Tupac Amaru, stressing the depraved act of burning down the town's church. In the following months, Tupac

Amaru and his followers repeatedly denied this accusation and rejected the excommunication itself, threatening anyone who attempted to publicize this black mark on the rebel leader. For example, in an undated letter probably composed in December 1780, Tupac Amaru argued that priests had maliciously used trumped-up charges to excommunicate him in an effort to facilitate their exploitation of local indigenous people. He told the people of Chumbivilcas not to pay attention to these charges and to punish any priest who tried to enforce them.[18] In a letter to a Cusco authority, Tupac Amaru charged that Indians such as himself were exempt from excommunication and that "not even the Pope" could do this to him. He continued, however, on a more conciliatory tone, stressing that despite what his detractors said, he had not lost his faith and he and his movement were defending Christianity from wayward authorities.[19] Rebel leaders instructed followers to tear down the *cedulón* or poster announcing his excommunication displayed on many churches and even posted their own rebuttals.[20]

Moscoso saw the excommunication not only as just punishment but also as an important tool to present the rebels as heathen apostates and thus to weaken their recruiting efforts. He understood the excommunication as the complete exclusion of Tupac Amaru from the Christian community—not only could the rebel leader not partake in Church rituals but Christians could not communicate with him. The excommunication went hand in hand with his plan to keep the secular priests, *curas*, in their parishes in order to prevent complete rebel control and to organize dissent. He seemed to have in mind a type of shadow government. In a December 21, 1780, letter to Viceroy Agustín de Jáuregui, Moscoso wrote, "I have instructed my priests to harass, reprimand, and to continually preach against the rebels." He continued that they were thus preventing much malevolence and that he had ordered them to stay in their parishes, even if they were threatened and wanted to flee.[21] Indeed, in a December 9, 1780, letter, Moscoso demanded that the priest of Velille, Francisco Antonio Areta, remain despite rebel threats.[22]

The process leading to the trials was anything but straightforward. In 1781, secular and Church authorities simultaneously sought to place and avoid blame. How and whether to prosecute priests proved to be particularly sensitive, and the paper trail indicates that authorities were keen on probing clerical subversion yet fearful of the consequences of seeming too zealous. According to a subsequent account by Moscoso, which sought to justify his actions, Visitador Areche ordered that the letters found in the capture of Tupac Amaru and Micaela Bastidas be sent by Mata Linares to the bishop. Moscoso returned them to Areche, demanding that he be "inexorable" in his punishment of the guilty. Areche sent them back to the

bishop, requesting that he "chastise the authors, for an impertinent phrase or two, understanding this to be sufficient punishment since no direct action in favor of the Rebel or of his depraved efforts could be deduced."[23] Here the bishop cited Areche in order to defend himself from potential accusations that he had been soft on the wayward priests. Moscoso then sent the letters (presumably copies) and the statements by Areche and Mata Linares to Viceroy Jáuregui, to seek his opinion. According to Moscoso, the viceroy returned them to the bishop, stating that he did not interpret the events as "criminal." Moscoso presented this time line, a case of bureaucratic hot potato, in his 1788 defense against accusations that he had been lax with rebel supporters and had rebel sympathies. He stressed that he had given the two visitadores as well as the viceroy ample opportunity to take charge of the prosecution and that they had supported his efforts throughout.[24]

The correspondence accompanying each transfer of the documents tells a story slightly different from Moscoso's summary. In a May 7, 1781, letter to Areche, Moscoso defended the Church from what he deemed slander or calumnies. He stressed his frenzied work in the defense of Cuzco during the January siege, his donations to the royalist cause, and the example of five priests martyred by the rebels.[25] In a follow-up missive of July 15, 1781, included with the incriminating letters he was returning, Benito Mata Linares underlined the danger of the priests' statements enclosed therein. He noted that indigenous people, "due either to their backwardness or because it behooves them," could not understand priests' complex language and thus accepted any positive view of the rebels verbatim. Mata Linares added that the church must use all its tremendous power to guarantee "veneration and respect for the King, image of God." He warned that those who had failed to do so in the past had faced "bloody punishment."[26] Moscoso replied the same day—both were in Cuzco—and on the following day sent the letters and the correspondence back to Areche. The bishop stressed that he accepted the priests' argument that they had written these notes out of fear, although he did concede that some had "become cowardly far beyond what their character and sworn love for God, the King, and the Kingdom permitted." In a clear swipe at Mata Linares, who had only recently arrived in Cuzco, he noted how those who hadn't experienced "the rigors of the traitor" could not comprehend the events and did not understand the important role of royalist priests and their "undeniable influence over Indians, Tupac Amaru's entire force."[27] On October 24, again in possession of the letters, Moscoso sent them to Viceroy Jáuregui, describing how thirteen priests had been imprisoned for three months, one had already been declared innocent, and the others had fled to Arequipa or elsewhere. On December 26, 1781, Viceroy Jáuregui wrote to approve of what the bishop had done, here noting, as cited by Moscoso above, that he

saw no "criminality" in their actions. The bishop acknowledged this letter on March 13, 1782, in the midst of the campaign to have Diego Cristóbal and his followers accept a cease-fire.[28]

Besides making sure that they followed protocol and blaming others for the priests' behavior, these authorities were also quietly deliberating on where and how the defendants should be tried. The letters were repeatedly returned to Moscoso, and in the end the trials were held in Cuzco's *curia eclesiastica*, the ecclesiastic court. Areche and Mata Linares oversaw three waves of trials or investigations: those of Tupac Amaru, Micaela Bastidas, and their inner circle in the first stage, April 1781; Diego Cristóbal and others in the second in 1782; and then prolonged investigations of creoles (people of European descent born in the Americas) suspected of harboring rebel sympathies. Moscoso became one of the suspects in this last group as he fended off accusations for almost a decade. Although the sentences meted out to the rebel leaders were brutal and the executions seemingly preordained, their trials had been backed by serious investigations with hundreds of witnesses and the usual elaborate procedures.[29] The trials of the eighteen priests and religious men were the only ones conducted by the Church. Nonetheless, authorities in Cuzco, Lima, and Spain followed the procedures closely.[30]

Father Figures

Priests were important figures in the corridor that ran south from Cuzco toward Puno and the altiplano. Fulfilling Moscoso's strategy, they helped impede rebel domination in the area. They paid a high price for it, confronting rebel threats and even violence. Juan de Luna was a priest in Chamaca, near Velille in the center of rebel territory. On February 10, 1781, he wrote to Micaela Bastidas "to clear up some false accusations by Don Juan de Dios Valencia, *comisionado* (representative) of Sr. Don José Gabriel, your majesty's husband," which had led to his imprisonment by two hundred Indians in the town of Livitaca. Luna claimed he was jailed because his captors misunderstood his sermons as critiques of the rebels. He argued that he had spoken out against wretched vices and the ugliness of sin and that the rebels' actions were actually addressing these issues, thus carrying out divine will; God was deeply offended by the prevalence of vice in the area. In the letter, Luna also refuted the rebels' claim that he had organized royalist soldiers, contending that he had gathered them so they could confess and take communion. He requested that Juan de Dios Valencia leave him alone, and signed off by calling himself "her most reliable server and fond chaplain."[31]

Luna testified in Cuzco in 1782. He argued that the letter was part of his efforts to get out of rebel prison, where he was held along with other

priests and religious people. He asserted that the insurgents controlled roads and paths to Cuzco—a fact confirmed by their letters—and he thus stayed behind to defend his people. He also claimed that, despite being in constant "danger," he helped many Spaniards escape Chamaca. Luna chided the judge, the *promotor fiscal*, for writing from the "tranquillity of his office," while Luna himself had been surrounded by "barbarians." The same judge ultimately recognized that "grave fear" had provoked the lies in the letter. Several witnesses confirmed that Chamaca and much of the Chumbivilcas district had been rebel territory; that several priests had been killed; and that Luna helped some Spaniards escape. The situation had thus forced him to "feign rendition and submission." He was absolved.[32]

Don Domingo de Escalante was one of the humbler letter writers. He was an assistant to the priest in Marcacongo, an annex of Sangarará, but had a house and family in Acos, Quispicanchis. His poorly written letter to Micaela, dated February 12, 1781, accompanied a gift of peaches, prickly pears, and bread sent in the name of his mother. He explained that his mother was seriously ill, which prevented him from making his case in person. Escalante described how the Indians of Pomacanchi, where rebels had burned a textile mill and entered repeatedly, had threatened his brother and damaged his house. He therefore asked Micaela for protection.

In his defense, Escalante claimed that "caution and just fear" (*recelo y temor justo*) had driven him to write the letter. He noted that he never believed the decree published by Tupac Amaru that declared his prerogative as a viceroy and visitador to punish *corregidores*. Escalante argued that he, like many others, had not known about the rebel leader's excommunication because "Indians didn't allow us to meet or talk about anything or to put up signs."[33] Many of the defendants made this point—that insurgents had blocked dissemination of Moscoso's decree and that the writers had not known they were communicating with an *excomunicado*. It is unclear whether they had received Moscoso's orders to stay in the parish. Presumably many of them would have fled if they hadn't been ordered to stay, although rebel sentinels made it difficult to flee. By this point, early 1781, the term "Indians" had become a synonym for rebels. The prosecutor insisted, however, that Escalante had been too subservient in his correspondence with Bastidas.

This forced Escalante to go into greater detail. He described how rebels had controlled all the roads in the area and how they had targeted any Spaniard, with no respect for gender, age, or status. They had punished them "for no other crime than having a white face or for not wanting to join the vile insurgent troops." He insisted that "even priests" had been arrested and subject to execution. He employed the widely circulated anti-insurgent litany: Tupac Amaru was a violent tyrant who murdered, burned churches, and killed his enemies on a whim. Escalante also described his

own emotional state: "It would have been different if I had found myself free of the worries prompted by such unexpected and scandalous events, but when fear rather than reason dominates…an overwhelming fantasy takes hold that makes you think about the most wretched events and get overexcited." Several witnesses confirmed that the rebels had blocked all roads and threatened priests and Spaniards. He too was absolved.[34]

Don Carlos Rodrigues y Avila, the priest of Yanaoca, wrote perhaps the most curious letter to Micaela Bastidas: a straightforward request for two twenty-five-pound blocks (*arrobas*) of sugar for which he sent ten pesos. His case underlines a point made in most of these letters—how even though the priests and others were gripped with fear, daily life continued, as looming anxiety about the uprising marked but did not completely alter normal activities. In his December 26, 1780, letter he noted that he would make up the difference if ten pesos weren't enough and would appreciate even more sugar. His justification for the one-sentence letter was, in contrast, elaborate. Tupac Amaru had threatened the people of Yanaoca if they did not join his forces. Locals begged Rodrigues y Avila to find a way to stop the "Rebel, and even more so his wife, who was the stronger one."[35] Finding himself "in the midst of so much confusion, in the very heart of the fire, surrounded by barbarians," he could only come up with the idea of writing the letter, which he thought might trick them into believing that he and the town supported them. He emphasized that he had helped three Spaniards escape to Arequipa and that his town had captured Micaela's brother, Antonio Bastidas. The prosecutors recognized the difficult situation that Rodrigues y Avila faced but persevered because of his closing sentence, "I pray to our Lord and the Virgin for your success and that they take care of you for many years."[36]

Witnesses testified that, in so doing, Rodrigues y Avila had not only procured sugar for Yanaoca but also bought time to allow Spaniards to escape. In addition, they described his face-to-face confrontations with rebels and how he had kept Yanaoca out of the hands of the insurgents. Every night he and his parishioners had joined together in a procession in honor of the Holy Virgin, in what was clearly a counterrevolutionary ritual. On November 30, 1780, Micaela Bastidas arrived in Yanaoca with 2,600 Indian soldiers. The priest would not receive her in royal fashion nor allow the rebels to ring the church bell. Micaela then ordered three members of the artillery to shell his house but, according to his own testimony, he didn't budge. He took an even greater risk when he did not allow the rebels to bury Andrés Noguera (Tupac Amaru's cousin) and Hermenegildo Roxas in the Yanaoca church. They offered three hundred pesos, he claimed, but he refused. He also raised the rebels' ire by allowing the local authorities they had threatened, all Spaniards, to take refuge in the church. Despite their fury, though, the rebels did not break down the door or even demand that

he give up the key. Rodrigues y Avila insisted that Yanaoca, where he had remained throughout the uprising, remained loyal, a rarity in the region.

Rodrigues y Avila also claimed to have confronted Tupac Amaru himself, asking him whether he didn't fear God and hell in light of all the turmoil, deaths, and theft he had caused. José Gabriel responded that in taking action against the excesses of the "thieving *corregidores*," he was doing God's work. On another occasion, the priest criticized Tupac Amaru for having ransacked the church's fields. The rebel leader responded that the damage would be repaid. Witnesses did not corroborate these encounters—they weren't asked to—and the priest might have exaggerated. Nonetheless, the stories indicate one curious phenomenon: the respect that rebels had for the sanctity of the church. Other priests also told stories of rebels ransacking, burning, and threatening but stopping at the church door. Backed by Spanish witnesses, Rodrigues y Avila was absolved.[37]

Whereas the sanctity of the Church was respected, the case of Don José Antonio Tapia hints that the rebels did target the wealth of the institution by ransacking its properties outside the church buildings themselves. He wrote from Ayaviri asking "José Gabriel Tupamaro Inga" for protection so he could fulfill his duties as a priest. He grumbled that he was alone and destitute. Tapia also complained that a renter of church property, a small estate or *estancia* that provided crucial income, had fled without paying his debt. When Tapia had embargoed some textiles to compensate, the rebels had apparently rebuked him. They had seemingly also stolen produce and goods from the estate. In his defense, he noted that January 1781 was the high point for violence in Ayaviri, a region that saw much bloodshed. One witness defended Tapia by stressing the "deaths, theft, and destruction" that the rebels had brought to Ayaviri. Another described how a Tupac Amaru henchman, Asencio Terciopelo, had searched the church for people whom Tapia had offered refuge. Tapia claimed to have cried on his hands and knees for Terciopelo to pardon them. The trial transcript does not specify whether Tapia was found guilty or absolved.[38]

The rebels' respect for the sanctity of the Church was both heartfelt and tactical. Indeed, their protection of churches underscores their respect. Although they sometimes targeted priests, they did not propose any alternative religion or chastise the Catholic Church in their proclamations (there is no "Tupac Amaru program"). In the rare case where a church building was damaged, it was a result of nearby fighting. Insurgents presumably understood violence against priests as the punishment of bad shepherds, just as the *corregidor* Arriaga had been hanged for dereliction of duty. And just as killing an authority did not mean loss of respect for the king (at least in the eyes of the rebels), the punishment of a priest did not necessarily mean that the Church was targeted. Tupac Amaru and Micaela Bastidas were deeply religious. His excommunication prompted indignation, rage,

and probably sorrow. This can be understood as a tactical reaction—they both knew that after events in Sangarará and the bishop's decree, their movement would be presented as heresy or apostasy—but it also reflected their own religiosity. The rebels' protection of churches underscores their respect for Catholicism.[39]

In late December 1780, Don Buenaventura Tapia, an ordained priest based in Ayaviri, sent Tupac Amaru the tax rolls of the town of San Pablo de Cacha as well as his assurances that he would recruit Indian soldiers, even "single men and choir members." At the time he thanked Tupac Amaru for "cutting from the root" the bad customs of the *corregidores* but excused himself from leaving town to meet personally because of his "choleric humors."[40] Like Escalante, at his trial Tapia defended this highly incriminating letter along the lines of fear, bluntly stating that he wrote it because of "his fear of Tupac Amaru's recklessness and rigor." He subsequently elaborated: "fear impelled and moved me to write the letter," and referred to "the extraordinary effects that this class of fear prompts in men, not just unprepared, pusillanimous, uninformed ones like myself but even those strong, informed individuals who had perhaps experienced such serious conflicts." He deemed the letter "a pretext or ruse that only the most confused, fearful, or uninformed man could create."[41] Witnesses acknowledged that Tapia had protected Spaniards and preached against the rebels. The prosecution ultimately rebuked him for the letter but absolved him, noting that it had been written in a context of "coercion, force, and fear."[42]

Sometimes the fearful clergy did more than plead for sugar or forgiveness. Don Martín Castilla wrote two forthright letters to Micaela requesting permission to arrest a young man named Gregorio Chávez, who had broken through a wall and stolen two hundred pesos from him. Chávez had defended himself by asserting that Micaela Bastidas ("Your Majesty") supported him. In the trial, Castilla justified the letter in clear terms: he needed the two hundred pesos, and "in this area Tupac Amaru was the only judge, the only person he could turn to." He emphasized this latter point by noting that Tupac Amaru "dominated in despotic form." The letters and the testimony indicate how Micaela and José Gabriel were seen as a team—their names are used almost interchangeably—and how rebel forces controlled the region. Castilla also contended that the undated letters were written before the rebels gained control of Sangarará and Tupac Amaru was excommunicated. Unusually for our clerical defendants, he was sentenced to four months in the San Antonio Abad Seminary's jail.[43]

Gregorio de Yepes, the vicar of Pomacanchi, in the heart of rebel territory, wrote a detailed letter to Micaela Bastidas. Recognizing that she was angry with him, he attempted to assuage her. Yepes contended that the rebels were upset because he had sent his brother to Cuzco, where he was safe from the insurgents. Yepes gave many reasons for allowing him to

leave but ultimately pointed out that "the rumor spread that the Inca [José Gabriel] had ordered that all Spaniards be killed."[44] In this correspondence with Micaela Bastidas, Yepes went into great detail about how he had not resisted the rebellion. He made numerous biblical allusions, including to David and Goliath, Moses and the people of Israel, and Jonas and the conversion of Nineveh.

As might be expected, Yepes presented a very different story in his testimony. He explained that he and his brother had provoked the wrath of the insurgents when they tried to convince Diego Tupac Amaru and Andrés Noguera, cousins of Tupac Amaru and part of his inner circle, not to participate in the late December siege of Cuzco. In their conversation with the young rebels, they stressed that the city was well fortified and that even if they managed to take it, "the King of Spain was a powerful monarch who would send large armies to defeat them." This infuriated José Gabriel, and thus Yepes claimed he "feared death every day." One corroborative account contended that Tupac Amaru had called Yepes a *diablaso* (real devil) and had rebuked his followers for not having killed him.[45] Yepes also pointed out that Pomacanchi was only four leagues from rebel headquarters in Tungasuca.

The prosecutor criticized Yepes's use of biblical references, deeming them irrelevant "for an idiot [Tupac Amaru] who does not understand God's will and brags hypocritically that his actions are heavenly wrath against Europeans, just as in the time of Attila the Hun." He also argued that fear did not justify this rhetoric.[46] In his defense, Yepes insisted that he and his brother had provided key information to the War Council in Cuzco. Above all, they had alerted its members that, after the failed siege, many rebel soldiers had fled home, and that Tupac Amaru was consequently vulnerable. Yepes had also shielded Spaniards in the Pomacanchi church, urging them to flee when possible. Many of them had been subsequently dragooned into Tupac Amaru's ranks but deserted at the first opportunity. He also pointed out that Tupac Amaru had arrested his brother's son and slave, prompting him to write the letter and to feign affection. Ever fond of biblical allusions, Yepes compared his conniving to that of David, who feigned madness and poverty to fool Achish, the Philistine king. He was absolved.[47]

On January 20, 1781, Don Antonio Chaves, the auxiliary priest in Sicuani, wrote a letter to Señor Governor don Joseph Gabriel Tupa Amaru Inga requesting that he send a judge to Sicuani to impede "extortions" by Indians. He asserted that they were not only seizing goods from local people but also pounding on the church doors and demanding that those who had taken refuge inside come out. Chaves explained that those inside wanted to plead their cases directly with José Gabriel and Micaela but that they feared losing their lives on the way. He claimed that he wrote

the letter fearing that Tupac Amaru and twelve thousand followers were about to destroy Sicuani and its Spanish inhabitants. His efforts to protect refugees and his sermons against the rebels had incited their ire. In fact, at one point rebel soldiers threatened him, showing him victims' heads that they carried in burlap sacks. He implored the judges to understand how this had made him fear for his life. He was absolved.[48]

Don Justo Gallegos, the priest of Layo and Langui, wrote letters to both Micaela and Tupac Amaru. He thanked Micaela for the beasts of burden, burros presumably, that she had lent him and also reported that Diego Tupac Amaru, José Gabriel's cousin and a rebel commander, had left for the southern provinces without a hitch. He also confirmed he had held the masses that she requested. He sent her twenty local fish, *suches*, as a token of his esteem. He wrote from the town of Layo, where he was priest. In the letter to José Gabriel, he complained that Indians had killed a young man named Don José de Erencia, who left behind eight children and a pregnant wife. Gallegos also requested that the rebels spare the church's lands, the *estancias* that financed religious activities. His tone was less obsequious than in the letter to Micaela, although he did express his "infinite happiness" over Tupac Amaru's safe return from the siege of Cuzco. The trial included Tupac Amaru's response. In a letter dated January 20, 1781, Tupac Amaru lamented the destruction but explained that "the Indians are taking revenge for the Spaniards' affronts and iniquities and I see that they are destroying church haciendas. The guilt lies in the priests who are preaching and obfuscating my just orders."[49]

Gallegos claimed that he had infuriated the rebels by criticizing them in his sermons in the towns of Langui and Layo. He said he could not leave because the roads were blocked but claimed to have done everything possible to impede the rebellion. One resident of Layo contended that Gallegos and other Spanish residents of these two towns had conspired to capture José Gabriel, hoping to take his head to Cuzco. They had spied on the rebels, following the whereabouts of Diego Cristóbal Tupac Amaru. At some point in late 1780, rebels imprisoned Gallegos in Tungasuca but later released him. Micaela lent him a beast of burden and saddle, which he acknowledged in his letter. According to one witness, rebels intercepted letters from Gallegos with passages against the rebellion and decided to kill him. It was at this point that he wrote the two letters. The fact that residents of Layo and Langui had aided in the capture of José Gabriel and his family in April 1781 helped Gallegos's case. He was absolved. Although he did not make any direct reference to fear or terror, the prosecutors recognized the danger he had faced as a priest of two towns in the core area of the rebellion.[50]

Baltazar Vargas de la Daga, an Augustinian friar, sent José Gabriel his regrets that he could not follow the rebel leader's order to go to the town

of Santa Rosa to hold mass, citing illness and the absence of the bishop's permission. In his incriminating letter, he furthermore asked Tupac Amaru, "my owner and friend of my utter appreciation," to pardon Pedro Salazar y Rospigliosi, a priest in Santa Rosa, and women who had taken refuge in the church. In his subsequent defense, he claimed that the affectionate terminology had merely been a ruse to save lives. Its use was a product of "fear and panicky terror" (*miedo y terror pánico*) that had struck all ecclesiastics because of the fact that rebels were rounding up and even killing priests. He insisted that he had been surrounded by "countless enemies and bloodthirsty butchers" who would not stop until they had executed all Spaniards.[51] Vargas de la Daga contended that not even Alexander the Great or Julius Caesar could impede such a force. The prosecution did not even ask for witnesses—they absolved him.[52]

In late December 1780, Don Pedro Solis wrote to Tupac Amaru to counter rumors spread by "miserable Indians" that he was on the side of "Cuzco," that is, the royalist forces. He also asked that the Indians stop attacking his property in Quiquijana, an important town located in the rebellion's main corridor, the Vilcanota Valley, especially his sheep. His father had been a *cacique gobernador* of Quiquijana who had been forced to flee to Cuzco. We may recall that *caciques* like Tupac Amaru had traditionally been of indigenous descent, and that Europeans imposed by Bourbon authorities in the latter half of the eighteenth century, such as Solis's father, were widely despised.[53] The rebels targeted the family's belongings and Pedro himself. His father returned to the *cacique* position in 1781 when it seemed safe for royalists to come back, but was killed in battle. In his defense, Solis argued that the dreadful state of affairs had forced him to write the letter. To confirm his loyalty, he noted his family's woes as well as his own efforts: he had not only sent letters to the War Council in Cuzco with information about the rebels, and lectured the people of Quiquijana to defend the town from the Tupac Amaru forces, but had also tried personally to take letters to Cuzco that he had intercepted from Diego Tupac Amaru: letters sent to José Gabriel about the attack on the strategic town of Paucartambo. Unfortunately, a thousand Indians had blocked his way just outside Cuzco. Throughout all this, he remarked in his final statement, he had never stopped "fearing for his life." The trial documents end by noting that he was "free."[54]

The men prosecuted in these cases were not the only clerics questioned by the courts. Antonio López y Sosa, the parish priest of Pampamarca, where the rebellion began, was also tried. His case dragged on for almost twenty years. Clearly, authorities believed that he had supported the rebels, even supplying the wood used to hang Arriaga, but they struggled in proving it and finding adequate punishment. His status as a priest shielded him from the brutal punishment faced by rebels, from soldiers to commanders.

By 1787 he was in a Capuchin monastery in Madrid, providing medical testimony that he suffered from hypochondria.[55]

In 1789, Bishop Moscoso y Peralta defended his behavior in the Tupac Amaru uprising. His struggle to exonerate himself had taken him from Cuzco to Lima in 1784 and to Madrid in 1786. He stressed how the majority of the clergy had bravely confronted the rebels, lamenting that his critics stressed the actions of a minority and overlooked the brave royalist majority. He also pointed out that Spaniards and creoles accused of collaboration with the rebels had received light sentences or been freed. As noted, he underlined how, at the time, Areche, Mata Linares, and Viceroy Jáuregui had agreed that he lead the prosecution and had supported his efforts. While bemoaning that several of the defendants had fled, Moscoso noted how the prolonged trial had meant that most of the eighteen men charged had suffered from an extensive and humiliating period of detention in Cuzco. The bishop deemed this adequate punishment and decried the slander of his opponents.[56] The Crown absolved him in 1789, and he became the archbishop of Granada, Spain. He never returned to Peru.

Placing Andean Fear

The proceedings of the trials provide insight into important questions about the Tupac Amaru Rebellion. All the writers alleged that they had written their letters to elude rebel violence. They had used their status as religious men to bolster their argument that they were on the insurgents' side or that they should not be harmed. In other words, the letters stressed two points: I support you Tupac Amaru and Micaela Bastidas and, don't forget, I am a man of the cloth. The letters thus indicate that a perilous space existed in the continuum between Spaniards (cast as evil miscreants by the rebels) and Indians (seen as bloodthirsty malcontents by royalists).

Other sources show how mestizos and local middle sectors such as petty merchants and small landowners attempted to remain neutral. This proved impossible, and so they, like the priests here, had to pledge their support to rebels, at least in the core area to the south of Cuzco.[57] They too found themselves having to justify their behavior to royalist commanders or the Spanish courts. Over time, the neutral space became smaller and smaller. Rebels began to kill "red necks" (*puka kunkas*), the derogatory Quechua name given to Europeans, defined in some cases as anyone dressed in western clothes.[58] On the other side, the viceregal troops that reached Cuzco in early 1781 began to kill Indians with little discrimination. The tactic of desperate negotiating on the part of the priests would be near impossible when violence escalated in the latter part of 1781, particularly in regions closer to Lake Titicaca. The rebels would have presumably killed them.[59]

Both sides treated clergymen gingerly. Tupac Amaru and Micaela Bastidas threatened priests but sought to contain rebel violence. They both respected the Catholic Church and knew that killing priests or burning churches would be counterproductive. Sangarará had been a bitter lesson. This wariness came, I believe, at a great cost to the rebels. According to the trial documents as well as other sources, the priests served as a virtual shadow government. They rallied supporters, defended local Spaniards and other possible rebel targets, and provided information to Cuzco. They prevented the development of a power vacuum, which facilitates the work of rebels and which a distinguished line of scholars has emphasized as a precondition for revolution.[60] South of Cuzco, the economic elite and viceregal representatives had either fled or been captured—only the priests and some members of the "middle sectors" remained. The presence of these priests impeded Tupac Amaru from controlling the area that stretched from Cuzco to Lake Titicaca. Without them, rebels would have overrun these towns.

It is interesting that the priests never presented the danger they faced as a type of potential martyrdom or even as a personal sacrifice for the good of Christianity. In contrast to the Franciscan friars who bore the brunt of the Juan Santos Atahualpa uprising in Peru's central jungle in the 1740s and 1750s, with dozens attaining martyrdom, these Cuzco priests did not cast their work as an uplifting mission in the name of Christianity. Instead, they stressed the dangers that they faced as individuals and their valuable efforts to weaken the rebels. This can largely be explained, it seems, by the fact that almost all of them were secular priests rather than members of an order.[61]

Where do the sentiments expressed in these letters fit in the global history of fear? As mentioned, what most stands out is their concreteness or tangibility. They all describe face-to-face encounters with rebels. In fact, some of them had delivered their letters to José Gabriel or Micaela in person. In their defense against the archbishop's accusations, the letter writers recalled tense encounters, threats, enemies, and near misses. They also stressed just how close they were to the rebel base in Pampamarca or key military zones such as Chumbivilcas. These encounters differed from the broad anxiety that according to some scholars marked the early modern era, the deeply felt fear of catastrophic divine wrath. In late medieval and early modern Europe, the Black Death, the Reformation, the rise of capitalism and the nation state, and other far-reaching phenomena prompted great unease and apprehension. Much of the literature on natural disasters, witch scares, the plague, religious warfare, and so forth stresses the "imagined" nature of this unease. In such European contexts, in which people saw their world rapidly changing, they envisioned even greater devastation around the corner or raining down from heaven. Although the threat and

effects of disease, war, and plague were in every sense real and the vast changes unsettling, the people's reactions often seem otherworldly. The apocalyptic belief that God's wrath was imminent or the experience of entire towns blighted by disease or warfare prompted reactions that looked to the heavens or in some cases to radical religious or political movements to stem the changes and incite others. The priests caught up in the Tupac Amaru Rebellion, in contrast, were trying merely to save their own lives.[62]

In his *Fear: The History of a Political Idea*, Corey Robin presents a different chronology. He argues that

> Montesquieu's victims were terrified of tangible threats: punishment, torture, prison, death; Hobbes's subjects feared specific dangers: the state of nature and the coercive state. The anxiety of Tocqueville's citizens, by contrast, was not focused upon any concrete harm. Theirs was a vague foreboding about the pace of change and the liquefying of common referents.[63]

Robin and others have shown how, by the eighteenth century or the age of revolutions, the threat was not perceived as coming from above—the heavens, the royal court, or the nobility—but from below, the rumblings of the lower orders. Seen in this light then, the Tupac Amaru Rebellion should be considered akin to the Haitian and French revolutions as bloody, far-reaching struggles that galvanized counterinsurgents and diverse conservative movements. In the decades following the Tupac Amaru and Tupac Katari uprisings, authorities implemented a series of anti-Indian policies (ranging from the cultural to the fiscal) and kept a wary eye on insurgent areas. This trepidation about the indigenous majorities marked Peru in its ambiguous role in the long wars of independence (1808–25) and beyond.[64]

The Tupac Amaru uprising heightened social divisions in the Andes. Building from the French historiography and the term *la Grande Peur*, historians have deemed the postrebellion decades as the period of great fear, *el gran miedo*.[65] Supporters of the most draconian forms of punishment seized control of Cuzco in the wake of the rebellion. They oversaw the bloody executions of 1783, the banishment of anyone related to Tupac Amaru, and extended trials against creoles suspected of harboring rebel sympathies. The Visitadores Areche and Benito Mata Linares implemented broad measures aimed to suppress Andean culture and to break the "colonial pact" that dated from the sixteenth century. They not only targeted ethnic *kurakas* and indigenous autonomy but also banned the work of Garcilaso de la Vega, traditional dances, and other representations of the Incas, and the Quechua language. These measures succeeded in dismantling the already debilitated shared governance system imposed by the Spanish after the Conquest but failed in terms of the broader cultural project. Their efforts did not, in practice, transcend repression, as they ultimately did not

implement policies to impose Spanish or to uproot Andean culture. Quechua is today the most widely spoken indigenous language in the Americas, with approximately ten million speakers.[66] They managed, however, to disseminate throughout the Peruvian viceroyalty a message that Indians were defeated savages.

The indigenous population of southern Peru, of course, did not accept this message. Although devastated by the war and petrified by the threat of further repression, indigenous individuals and communities flooded the Cuzco courts in the decades after the uprising with petitions and lawsuits again "abusive" authorities. They hinted at the potential for further violence, which the colonial state absolutely sought to prevent, if the authorities were not restrained and conditions improved. Moreover, by the early nineteenth century, core areas of the Tupac Amaru uprising witnessed new uprisings. Not only had the colonial state failed to impose its vast cultural project, "de-Andeanization," but two decades later it no longer intimidated the broader Cuzco population into subordination.[67]

Although Tupac Amaru as a symbol has a long history and the name continues to resonate today among rap musicians and guerrilla movements, it did not foster the same broad, reactionary cohesion that the Haitian Revolution did a decade later. Several explanations can be found. First, the Haitian Revolution threatened the institution of slavery and thus sparked a conservative coalition in the Caribbean and beyond. The term Haiti became a code word for "black savagery" and the demise of slavery, thus uniting slave owners throughout the continent. Second, geography mattered. Haiti is located in the heart of the Caribbean and what was the slave-based sugar economy. News of events there reached Havana, Veracruz, New Orleans, and other Caribbean cities very quickly and extended into the mainland and across the Atlantic to Europe. In Peru, the Spanish managed to impede wide-scale reporting of the Cuzco-based uprising, and it struck a region that played an ever-smaller role in the world economy, particularly with the slow demise of the Potosí silver mines.[68]

Finally, the Haitian Revolution succeeded while the Tupac Amaru Rebellion did not—it remained a rebellion rather than a revolution. While it sparked smaller revolts throughout South America, it did not have the transatlantic repercussions of the Haitian Revolution.[69] The religious men prosecuted for supporting Tupac Amaru demonstrate, however, how fear and anxiety marked the Cuzco region in the midst of the uprising and well after its demise.

CHAPTER 4

Fear in Colonial California and within the Borderlands

LISBETH HAAS, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SANTA CRUZ

What's Not to Fear . . . ?

At first glance, one might think fear had been pervasive. If fear emerges from the possibility of violent, unexpected death, or yet death from plague and new forms of illness, then it would seem that after l769, when the Spanish colonization of California began, fear must surely have prevailed. In less than seventy years, the densely inhabited zone of linguistically diverse indigenous societies stretching along California's coast had been devastated, and waves of illness and warfare remade tribal societies in the interior. The Spanish occupation of even a single tribal territory brought vast herds of livestock, and foreign seeds and weeds, that eroded the environment and devastated the political order. New diseases proliferated. Whole areas became depopulated as the Spanish imposed the policy of *redución*, reducing native converts to residents and workers at the missions they joined, allowed to leave only with a pass distributed by the missionary or a military officer. The changes produced by the Spanish colonial presence created what Randall Milliken has called a "time of little choice."[1] Tribal societies divided over what to do: some people joined the Spanish missions, others refused to do so for one or more generations. Most of California's indigenous population lived beyond the colonial coast and could better resist encroachment on their lands.

Affiliation to the missions could mean becoming a translator. The indigenous elite were among the first to learn Spanish once they lived in the missions, and thus able to exert some control over how words such as *fear*, and the concepts found in Catholic doctrine, entered indigenous languages.[2] Native translators and others who moved most easily between languages and cultures helped to define the vivid systems of indigenous thought and ritual that they elaborated alongside Catholic religious practice. Their writing and painting suggests how native populations continued to access power despite their political defeat.

Once a majority of people from any single village joined a mission, the tribe effectively lost control over their land. They became "Indians" under

the law.[3] The missions claimed the lands of their converts as mission property, and after Mexican Independence in l821, the government would eventually declare the missions' tribal lands to be the property of the new nation. The Mexican government would grant most of the land in large tracts to cattle ranchers and towns, further eroding indigenous land rights after l834, though an indigenous peasantry developed as individuals secured titles to small lots of land.[4]

As indigenous leaders faced their inability to reverse the conditions that provoked such tremendous loss of lives and ancestral land, it seems conceivable that Indians became fearful. Certainly fear appears frequently and repeatedly in Spanish documents. Yet that is not how surviving native sources describe it. Even the word *fear* is virtually absent in the colonial indigenous records under examination here, except when it applied to the Spanish. In stark contrast to Spanish assumptions, native histories offered categories of analysis, and histories of indigenous political thought and action, that identified alternate visions and different responses to Spanish colonial rule. Rather than represent themselves as fearful and reduced, indigenous writers and histories spoke to the strengths and political visions alive within their communities. As such, their work suggests that despite certain kinds of political defeat and devastation under Spain and Mexico, native populations still had access to forms of power that their leaders drew upon to mitigate unfavorable conditions.

The virtual absence of reference to fear may be a rhetorical strategy adopted from Spanish writing itself, where attributing fear diminished people, and often obscured historical motives and events. But another reason, perhaps more influential, is that fear remained something conceptualized primarily within an indigenous framework. Looking beyond colonial writing, we shall see here how fear appears in indigenous accounts as a historical emotion, but one elaborated very specifically in relation to native forms of thought and culture.[5]

Attributing Fear and Fearful Geographies

With its deep moorings in Western cultural and political thought, fear seemed to be the dominion of the Spaniards in California. The missionaries frequently attributed fear to indigenous populations. Seeing and representing them as "fearful" diminished them, and denied any semblance of political logic, history, and strategy behind their actions. Consider the use of fear in the writing of missionary Fray Muñoz as he recorded his movement in 1806 through Yokuts territory, now the San Joaquin Valley, east of the coastal mountain chain. In a previous missionary-cum-military expedition to explore and gain converts among the Yokuts just months earlier,

most villagers Fray Muñoz encountered had not fled. In many villages the very old and ill had even allowed themselves to be baptized. However, when he arrived the second time, he frequently found villages empty, or that the women and old people had removed themselves well in advance of the arriving military, missionary, and translators. Fray Muñoz attributed this to fear. "We came upon two villages, but all the people had retreated to the mountains on account of the fear that beset them as soon as they detected our approach."[6]

Near the villages of Chamuasi and Tahualamne the Spanish found refugees high up in caves, in areas well beyond reach of the expedition. When they finally coaxed a group of warriors to a position from which Spaniards and villagers could hear each other, Fray Muñoz reported "their excuse for remaining obstinate and refusing to come down was that they were afraid." Men dressed like the Spanish and on horses had apparently come years before, and killed and captured villagers. Fray Muñoz wrote that once he had convinced the fugitives (through a translator) that the expedition simply wanted "to advance the Kingdom of God and to make friends with them so that their souls might be saved.… They replied that they all wanted to become Christians and have a mission established for them." Muñoz lamented, however, that in spite of their favorable response "it was not possible to achieve a single baptism." As was common in such circumstances, the local men directed the expedition to "six villages above them on the river" but refused to give the names of those villages or to name the chief of their own. Fray Muñoz could only conclude emphatically that "such was their fear or malice. They are poor and very stupid."[7]

But flight, the selective avoidance of contact, and the refusal to be baptized or reveal information while feigning agreement are actions that could have been interpreted differently. They can be seen as strategies developed by many Yokuts to halt the spread of disease and to avoid the potential violence of the soldiers, including rape, and the loss of autonomy and territory upon becoming Christian. In fact, within a decade, a new geography had emerged within Yokuts territory, one that the missionaries would refer to as an *Apachería*: an area in which indigenous people retained political power and autonomy despite the increasing violence that came to define their societies.

The terms *Apachería* and *Comanchería* referred to the indigenous borderland of northern Mexico, where different groups including Apaches, Comanches, Navajos, and Utes maintained and augmented their control through raiding, trading, slavery, and warfare with and against each other and Spanish and Mexican settlers. The emergence of an *Apachería* in California emphasized the limits of Spanish control within the larger region. Yet, as elsewhere, the Spanish and Mexican presence contributed to the creation of new indigenous borderlands. Historians have recently

reconceived these borderland histories to emphasize native power and the territorial expansion of particular societies during the colonial era.[8] They trace the expansion of indigenous political control, and explore the integration of native and colonial societies as new economies and political alliances formed within a vast region.[9] Warfare, systems of slavery, and escalating violence "remade Native worlds" during this era, and indigenous ethnicities underwent dramatic redefinitions.[10]

Missionary references to *cimarrónes* and the *Apachería* also suggest how quickly California became part of the geography of the colonial Americas. The word *cimarróne* is of Antillean indigenous origin, and first appeared in Spanish writing in 1535. It referred to those people and animals who fled to the hills and mountains, where Indians and blacks established communities that remained autonomous from the colonial coast.[11] The word carried into the French and English as *marrones* and maroons. In Yokuts territories as elsewhere, indigenous communities of *cimarrónes* integrated individuals and groups who had escaped slavery and coercive conditions of labor. By l816, within a decade of the first explorations, Fray Muñoz claimed to have encountered *cimarrónes* in every Yokuts village he visited.[12]

In light of Yokuts political strategies and actions in creating their geography of resistance and their absorption of other escapees from direct Spanish rule, one must perforce reconsider the fear that the missionaries ascribed to them. Rather than identifying a cause of behavior, the missionaries' recourse to the word *fear* made it part of a set vocabulary that offered a limited range of concepts to identify native people. Given their thin grasp of the indigenous world they encountered, the missionaries used a language that reflected a set of narrow, seemingly timeless perceptions, despite vast differences among the indigenous people they encountered and, ironically, the availability of ethnographic work by Franciscans, Jesuits, and (as we shall see) indigenous scholars that acknowledged native forms of knowledge.

For the missionaries, the designation "Indian," another word in this set vocabulary, functioned as an insult; conversely, not seeming Indian could be used as a compliment, or even a means to defend someone from exemplary punishment. For example, in 1799 a man named Raymundo was accused of stealing a pen. Writing to the governor of California to try and lighten the sentence of "poor Raymundo," his local cleric, Fray de la Cruz, affirmed Raymundo's qualities by stating that "he doesn't even seem to be Indian," further suggesting that he "only stole a pen" in order "to amuse his friend." Despite this, the colonial government took the stealing of a an object that would enable Raymundo to write without authorization as a serious offense, proposing to place him in permanent exile from his family, tribe, and territory by sending him to another military district and mission in California. Careful to not appear too pro-Indian, De la Cruz qualified

his appeal by stating that Raymundo was a good worker who had a son for whom he expressed feelings of compassion. That said, affirming the unity between the Church and military in defense of the colonial order, the obedient friar concluded that he only wanted lenience for Raymundo "if he wasn't found guilty of the robbery."[13]

Both the Church and the state meant to instill fear in Indians through the punishments they inflicted. In a dispute with Commander Don Felipe de Goycoechea of the Presidio of Santa Barbara over accusations he had launched against the missionaries there, the latter defended themselves in 1800 against every accusation except one, concerning the severity of their punishment of the mission Indians, which they proudly affirmed. The matter had come to a head when Goycoechea reported that the missionaries poorly fed, clothed, and housed the Indians, did not extend them passes frequently enough for them to go back to their territory or to move about freely when off work, and impeded their learning of Spanish by allowing them to use their native languages. In response, missionaries Cortes and Tapis leveled accusations of their own regarding Goycoechea's mistreatment of Indians at the presidio even as they defended with pride the whippings, chains, and irons they used to discipline mission Indians who broke rules. For instance, they exemplified such righteous discipline relating a series of events that had transpired in the mission's textile rooms in 1797. It was common practice at that time for a friar to go to the textile works in the morning and "read the list to see if any of the spinners, carders, or any weavers were missing." While workers sometimes responded that those missing could be found washing wool elsewhere in the mission, in one particular instance, the inspecting friar found that a Chumash weaver called Agapito had been working for five days in the textile workshop of Goycoechea himself without a license or pass. They therefore brought Agapito back to the mission and gave him eight lashes, emphasizing that such was "what we always do when we know one is going to work in the textile rooms of Don Felipe."[14]

Though severe, eight lashes were comparatively few and reflected the high status of weavers, and the need to keep them doing quality work. After Independence in 1821, the Mexican state declared indigenous people equal before the law and tried to eliminate the corporal punishment regularly administered at the missions. But colonial relations shifted slowly, and a statement acknowledging that the practice could continue accompanied almost every written decree that arrived in California against whipping and other types of violence. Mexican officials ultimately followed recent Spanish precedent in reducing the accepted number of lashes to twenty-five for each offense.[15]

In l829, near the end of the first decade of independence, soldiers arrested and beat three Chumash healers, charging them with witchcraft

after they led a ceremony for the sick at Mission Santa Ines. Witnesses at the court claimed that the devil had appeared to the men, who then spread word for people to bring the sick to the home of a certain José. Rumor spread that if they didn't go, they would die. People had therefore carried their sick relatives and friends to the house and paid the healers in beads, seeds, and other things for their services during three successive nights of dancing—an activity about which much more will be said below. Four months later a military court tried and sentenced them. The liberal governor José María Echeandía, who had arrived from Mexico with the intent to emancipate Indians from the missions and encourage their treatment as equal citizens, signed the judgment, thereby accepting the punishment. Of those charged, the judge set Apolonio free because he had already served time. Anastásio and José, however, were each sentenced to twenty-five lashes after mass on Sunday, and in front of the entire mission population, before being set free.[16]

This and similar impositions of corporal punishment in front of the congregation on Sunday constituted a common act of humiliation that Europeans deployed to incite a fear they considered part of just governance. As will be discussed below, such violent incidents in front of the local churches certainly remained etched in Chumash collective memories, yet in ways unanticipated by their inflictors.

Native Sources: Fear and Triumph through Dance

The public whippings and other brutal punishments that led to agonizing humiliation and even death produced conditions for historical trauma that indigenous leaders addressed in the missions and beyond. Yet fear did not seem to enter the recording of native history during these years. Instead of a community living in fear, or overwhelmed by the Spanish conquest, Stephanie Wood has shown that indigenous writers and oral historians of colonial Mexico bequeathed accounts that emphasized "pride in their own leadership and ancestry…the moments in history that strengthened their communities and autonomy, that pointed to their own heroism and even their own conquests."[17]

Such an approach is relatively new, given that scholars had long regarded native writing and painting as poor attempts at reproduction, insignificant and imperfect creations that were neither Spanish nor Indian. By contrast scholars now tend to see in such expressions qualities that reflect both indigenous and Spanish forms, and that present something new as a consequence.[18] Indeed, even when indigenous writing conformed to the canonical genres—as in the case of wills, land and municipal documents, petitions, and correspondence—James Lockhart has found that

they prioritized different categories, events, and places, thus challenging historians to rethink the nature of our own narratives.[19]

The distinct categories, events, and places found in native sources are present, for example, in the writing of indigenous scholar Pablo Tac. Born in 1821 at Mission San Luiseños Rey in current northern San Diego County, Tac wrote an extraordinary history (as well as a grammar and partial dictionary in Luiseño-Spanish) while at the Collegium Urbanum de Propaganda Fide in Rome. Tac wrote this for the linguist and Vatican librarian Cardinal Guiseppe Mezzofanti as he successively studied Latin grammar, rhetoric, humanities, and philosophy in Rome between 1834 and 1841.[20]

Fear appears but three times in Tac's history—twice attributed to the Spaniards and once to express the fearlessness of Luiseños. In the first version of Tac's history of Luiseño-Spanish contact, "Conversión de los San Luiseños de la Alta California," Tac relates the friendship that developed between a Luiseño leader and a Franciscan missionary. Because the leader spoke "in favor of the whites," the Spaniards were not killed. Tac then comments that he finds it "almost hard to believe" they didn't kill the Spaniards, "because they never wanted other people to live among them." Still, because of his friendship with the leader, the missionary "didn't fear anything," though the fearlessness of the Luiseños would have otherwise given him cause to be afraid in the territory that Tac refers to as "our country."[21]

In contrast to Luiseño fearlessness, Spanish fear appears in Tac's history of the ball game called *uauquis*. He discusses one game that turned into a fight between two groups of indigenous people from the missions of San Luis Rey and San Juan Capistrano. The fight ended comically, it seems, given that the people from San Juan Capistrano departed when the Spanish soldiers arrived "trembling." By contrast, among the Luiseños "no one was afraid." To this end Tac reports on the verbal wit of one Luiseño leader who "spoke like the Spaniards" but played to the crowd when he mocked them in his own language, declaring "raise your sword and I then will eat you."[22] Like others writing in Spanish, Tac attributed fear to his opponents to diminish them, while ascribing its absence among his fellow Luiseños to their tenacity and wit.

Unlike the records left by the military and missionaries about Indians in California, in which a certain stasis appeared in the language and concepts used to describe native people, Tac's writing elaborated his verbal dexterity and humor, and his lament at the defeat of his ancestors. In fact, shadows of lamentation pass over the pages of the grammar that he wrote. Tac frequently chose verbs such as "to cry" to demonstrate grammatical usage. In recording the sorrow he felt in regard to the political defeat of his ancestors, Tac's writing is once again similar to indigenous histories told around the time of Spanish conquest elsewhere in Mexico. Sorrow, grief, anger,

lamentation for the dead, and stories of defeat and war predominate, yet fear rarely appears.[23] But in contrast to the limited representation of native history and native authority in the colonial archives, Tac's history focuses on and elaborates how Luiseños accessed power in both traditional and new ways despite their political losses.

When identifying Luiseño forms of power, Tac embraced a shamanic concept in which power could be accessed by ritual practice and specialized knowledge, and wielded according to both social and natural laws. Even within the confines of defeat, the shaman could access power to provoke change, including transformations within the social and political sphere, and in individual lives.[24] Tac emphasized the importance of traditional elders and their forms of knowledge. He documented the new power of native men who spoke and dressed as Spaniards and rode on horseback—people who moved more easily between cultures, languages, and political systems even as they maintained their allegiance to other Luiseños. As a scholar, Tac too could be seen as drawing upon such new forms of power.

Tac tells four distinct stories within his history, using a form common in Luiseño storytelling in which the singer used the repetition and variation of stories to define a set of concepts and precepts.[25] Tac repeats his overarching story, "Conversión de los San Luiseños," three times with variation. Each version emphasizes the concept that the Spaniards built their colonial institution on land that remained in Luiseño possession, and that they could do so only through their alliance with the Luiseño leader. Two of the versions also emphasize the changing forms of Luiseño authority after their political defeat.

The other three stories concern areas of life in which Luiseños continued to exercise power, and emphasize the concept that Luiseños could access authority and transform conditions despite their political defeat. Two of these stories concern dance, an activity described twice with variation under the rubric of "everyday life"—in which Tac foregrounds the authority of the father and the sentimental realm of laughter and tears within the family home. The third appears under the rubric of "the ball game," which had social and spiritual significance for Luiseños. The later two stories seem almost anecdotal, and yet they show how Luiseños dealt with their losses, the change in their power after defeat, and the areas that offered them rejuvenation. In writing on the ball game, for example, Tac emphasizes twice that it "serves us well, very well," alluding to spiritual and political well-being.[26]

In the two versions of the history of dance, Tac elaborates on the way that Luiseños continued to access knowledge and power through dance practice. The missionaries referred to Indian dance at the missions as a "diversion," but in California as elsewhere, Europeans confronted societies that still allowed the body to produce knowledge, and to render into

corporeal existence the spiritual world.[27] Dance enabled those trained in specific rituals to act upon the world and to attempt to rectify loss. Dance kept alive the power and skills of traditional elders during the mission era. "No one can dance without the permission of the elders, and they have to be of the same people," wrote Tac. The religious leaders from each village—including those within the mission proper, where territorial identities persisted—included singers who possessed the songs and taught the dance according to the song. The singers, whom Tac generally declared were "the old people," might still include younger members, "but of the same people," who governed song and ceremonial knowledge. The elders selected each dancer, and made and kept the dance regalia.[28]

In keeping with what has been described as Western societies' insistence on divorcing bodies "from their capacities to theorize," the missionaries and colonial officials lacked the language and concepts to value or analyze dance.[29] Colonists and colonial officials alike thus recorded little more than the mere existence of movement, sound, ritual, and bodily practices like tattooing. Relying on such meager records and their own assumptions, historians have virtually written dance out of life at the missions, even though sources such as Tac's history, and the single ethnography on colonial California written in the early 1820s by Fray Geronimo Boscana titled *Chinigchinich*, take it up as a major theme.[30]

Tac makes clear that dance constituted group identity in ongoing ways, and he helped to conceptualize changes in that identity and condition during the colonial era. Writing about other tribes he had seen at San Luis Rey and elsewhere, he observed that they all had their own distinct dances.[31] In California, then, dance constituted precisely what Zoila Mendoza terms a "site of confrontation and negotiation of identities"—identities shaped from within the indigenous communities and through their interactions with new structures of power imposed by the colonial order.[32]

When the Luiseño Pablo Tac and the Chumash Fernando Librado Kitsepawit wrote and spoke about dance, they described specific things related to its connection to the cosmological order, and also considered it as a source of indigenous knowledge. This native way of relating the directionality employed in dance reflected the concerns of Luiseño and Chumash astrologers that structures, ritual areas, and ceremonies "conform to their perception of the cosmos."[33] Both Tac and Librado described where the dances took place. They indicated the direction in which the dancers entered, the direction of their movement and gestures, and whether they looked up or down. They indicated the time of year and the time of day the dance took place. Both men emphasized that the song determined the movement.[34] Librado made clear that the older dancers insisted strictly on proper movement and the exact paint, feathers, and regalia for each dance. This exactness conformed to the requirements of "divine animation" in

which supernatural beings and animal spirits choreographed their own presence through the steps, and could be recognized through the visual cues associated with them.[35]

Thus far I have suggested that fear entered native discourse and memory in reference to shamanic and other forms of power that existed within indigenous thought and culture. In the indigenous societies of colonial California, specific skills and knowledge that enabled people to work with forms of power were considered personal qualities the individuals possessed at birth, or were taught by virtue of innate special talents. But power could be used for bad or good purposes, and fear was a legitimate response that acknowledged the need to be wary. More generally in indigenous and mestizo America, *susto* or scare has been and continues to be an important malady treated by healers.[36]

In a project undertaken to help revive the Luiseño language in the twentieth century, Luiseño speaker Villiana Calac Hyde discussed fear with linguist and translator Eric Elliot in a number of these contexts.[37] Speaking of an incident where she was healed at a fiesta in Pauma, Calac Hyde noted that the healer derived his power from the bear. He "turned into a bear," and "when he growled, I got scared."[38] When relating the story of a man who loved to hunt, she said "he wasn't at all afraid of the *chawíiwut*," which is an evil spirit who lived "long ago." Yet when he saw the *chawíiwut* he "shook so much that he fell to the ground. He crawled away somewhere (safe)."[39] Discussing the power possessed by thunder, Calac Hyde noted "if it wants, it can be evil, otherwise it isn't." She mentioned a friend of hers who was "afraid of thunder," though Calac Hyde herself was not. Thunder's power existed in an earlier era; by the late twentieth century, she reflected "I think that's over now. It just exists (but is no longer a threat)."[40]

Fear in Spanish-Language Accounts of the Chumash War

In l824 the Chumash people of three missions—Santa Ines, La Purisima, and Santa Barbara—organized what, as we shall see, indigenous-community histories call a "war" and Spanish-language sources variously refer to as a revolution or a rebellion. Before the Chumash war, leaders sent sacks of beads to particular Yokuts villages, asking people to join them and provide aid. Some refused, whereas others sent men to help.[41] The war began at Mission Santa Ines on February 21, 1824, when 554 Chumash from Santa Ines took up arms and set the mission on fire. People soon began to leave that mission for Mission La Purisima, where the population joined immediately as planned. At La Purisima the Chumash population of 722 took over the mission, which by evening was occupied by over 1,000 Chumash from Santa Ines and La Purisima alike. They would remain in control

for the next four months. Meanwhile, another 1,000 Chumash from Santa Barbara sought refuge in Yokuts territory, some five days walk away. They remained there for more than four months.

Responding to these events, the missionaries evoked what, following Zygmunt Bauman, we might refer to as "liquid fear" in their accounts of the war, creating the specter of a limitless and amorphous enemy that resided in the *Apachería*.[42] Missionaries wrote of their certainty that the Indians in the mountains, valleys, and deserts to the east were joining with the rebels at Buena Vista Lake and planning to attack the coast. Fray Martinez's correspondence in particular played up the specter of a united revolt: "without doubt," he wrote, "they will seek protection with the Mojave and those at the head of the Tulares to make raids on the coast with the troop who, with little work, they could destroy by falling here and there." Later he insisted that "an infinity" was approaching along the road of the Mojave to Yokuts territory, and the people gathered there included Indians from Santa Barbara, San Buenaventura, San Fernando, and San Luis Obispo.[43] Fray Sarría and Gil y Taboada echoed Martinez's fears of a massive attack.[44] Fray Blas Ordaz, who remained in the region living among the ashes at Santa Ines, warned of the possibility of a province-wide revolt organized by leaders from La Purisima and Santa Barbara. They had "everyone in the Tulares (Yokuts territory) on their side." They had lots of arms, and the Christian Indians "taught them to shoot at Whites." According to him the mission populations would join together to kill all the *de razon*—as the settler population of the province was known in distinction to the allegedly reasonless (*sin razon*) indigenes.[45]

In creating this landscape of fear, the missionaries obscured the very specific conditions that made the revolt possible. The three mission populations had deep connections: two missionaries and more than a hundred Indians from the older missions of La Purisima and Santa Barbara (both established during the 1780s) founded Mission Santa Ines in 1804. Those indigenous people who came to compose Santa Ines' population had familial and organizational ties with the other missions that persisted through the colonial era. Much like the indigenous authorities we have met in chapter 3 in this volume, those who translated the doctrines of Catholicism and held religious office within the Church often came from the indigenous political elite who held hereditary positions and often boasted knowledge of healing, astrology, and the environment. In short these Chumash men and women were in charge of acting upon the world to change circumstances and bring harmony. Known as *?antap*, they provided native leadership and maintained their public presence in forms considered acceptable to the missionaries, above all else by overseeing dance. As people entered the missions together with others from their villages, the *?antap* offered the natural means to coordinate action. Certainly they played a

prominent role in organizing the revolt, especially under such leaders as the religiously authoritative *wot*, whose writ extended to people at both Santa Ines and La Purisima.

Promulgating fear also minimized the extreme difficulties that revolt entailed. Compounding the problems attendant on agreeing upon strategy, gathering and making sufficient arms, and creating the necessary alliances, Indians involved in or supporting the war had to feed and maintain the population in exile. Most people preoccupied themselves with life itself during the revolt. Villages that had supported around 250 people or fewer faced the serious problem of addressing the needs of over 1,000 refugees. The missionaries' fears built up the specter of a coordinated revolt that had little to do with the actual situation. The ability to coordinate and carry out such an action remained beyond the reach of possibility at that time.

Ultimately, months into the war, Fray Ripoll from Mission Santa Barbara used fear to plead for the innocence of those involved.[46] Ripoll blamed a particular soldier, Valentin Cota, for an unlawful whipping of an Indian. This, he said, began the war (despite the evidence that it involved significant preparation). Ripoll purportedly based his account on what he had heard from different indigenous sources, though it is replete with stories of the Indians' fears. Ripoll wrote that one Chumash leader told him "all his people were in a great state of fear." Another said they "were afraid" to surrender. Before they moved across the mountains he again "called them back but they replied that they were afraid to come."[47]

Ripoll argued that Indians joined the revolt because of the many humiliations and despotic actions of the soldiers, but characterized indigenous attitudes as being submissive and fearful. In this sense fear of intolerable abuse offered a legitimate reason for the population to join the revolt, and Ripoll's explanation enabled the governor to issue the pardon that ultimately ended it. Ripoll articulated the political logic of the Church and offered an acceptable explanation through fictionalized indigenous voices. Nevertheless authentic indigenous voices, as we shall see, ultimately offered an utterly different perspective.

Indigenous Histories of the Chumash War of 1824

Though the Spanish colonizers of California attempted to learn about indigenous forms of power and superimpose their own connection to the supernatural to win people over, native writers did not speak to Spanish success in that area, or to fear of the Spanish themselves. Instead, they left histories that communities could draw upon to understand the way their leaders had responded to these colonial impositions. While colonial indigenous writing records other emotions, the recourse to feelings of fear

largely remained part of another discourse. Fear certainly existed in indigenous languages and cultures, but was conceptualized and most commonly expressed within a distinctly non-Western framework.

When the governor finally extended a pardon to the Chumash and people returned from exile, they celebrated the pardon with victorious marches, masses, and festivals, and invited some of the Yokuts who had been involved in the war to join in the commemoration of its ending. But many indigenous people had died or suffered during the precarious movement to and from the coast. Everyone had faced extreme danger during the armed conflict, the fire at Mission Santa Ines, the retaking of Mission La Purisima by the soldiers, and on the five-day walk to and from exile. Even so, native accounts of the revolt that have been passed down within their respective communities do not mention indigenous fear. Instead, they once more validate Chumash forms of knowledge and power, and emphasize the way Chumash leaders could stand up to the missionaries and soldiers alike using the objects that enabled them to access power and which even protected them from their opponents' weapons. Relaying a community history about those distant events in 1914, Maria Solares said that a belief had existed at Santa Ines that the population would be impervious to death if hit by the bullets of the soldiers. According to her, people were saying such things as "if they shoot at me, water will come out of the cannon," or yet "if they shoot me, the bullet will not enter my flesh."[48] Even so, she also acknowledged the danger, and the population's sense of mortality. The *wot* even sent a messenger to Santa Ines at the beginning of the revolt asking the Indians there to go to La Purisima, so that "if they were all to be killed, they would all be killed together."[49] Indeed Solares frequently emphasized how people felt that it was important to die together as a group, rather than to leave anyone to suffer death alone.

Each of the stories under discussion here (of Maria Solares, Luisa Ignacio, and Lucretia Garcia) focuses on the discrete memories of the three communities involved, relating the war in narratives "encoded in physical space," as is common in native histories.[50] Yet these three Chumash accounts also share common elements depicting forms of power that gave protection in a situation fraught with violence and death. In the stories of both Maria Solares and Lucretia Garcia, for example, the power of the amuletic *?atishwin* proved crucial.[51]

The *?atishwin* formed part of shamanic practice involving the "dream helper" encountered in a trance, induced by taking a hallucinogen, to help transport the shaman, or *?atishwinic*, into a different realm of consciousness and imbue him with particular powers or knowledge.[52] Indeed, the powers attributed to the *?atishwin,* which could be symbolized in the form of a talisman, varied. Some could carry a person over the mountains, others protected one from a bear, still other *?atishwin* enabled the

person to disappear. As Lucretia Garcia explained, even if "a whole crowd of men" pursued someone possessed of an *?atishwin*, then they would be made "like a pack of babies," and nothing would happen even if they were to catch him.[53]

Certainly the Chumash were in need of their *?atishwin*. Maria Solares said that the revolt began at La Purisima following threats made against Chumash men whom a treacherous native sacristan found consuming mind-altering drugs one evening, as part of the indigenous religious practices that persisted at the missions. The Chumash then divided on the question of their invulnerability to Spanish arms, since some had already been wounded by their nervous overseers. After the revolt began in earnest, proof for such beliefs would be forthcoming once the soldiers at La Purisima captured seven Purisimeños, blindfolded them, tied their hands behind their back, and shot them. For it then became apparent that, despite his being repeatedly shot, and while the friars prayed constantly, one of the men could not be killed. "One of them got up after they were shot. The soldiers shot again and he fell. Priest prayed while soldiers shot." When the soldiers examined him, they found that he wore an *?atishwin* of woven human hair about his neck, the destruction of which was necessary to finish him off.[54]

Similarly, in Garcia's account, the *?atishwin* protected its bearer. According to her, three old men responded to a call to attend mass at Santa Barbara, unaware that the revolt had begun. As they approached the mission, the one who wore the *?atishwin* charm felt it "throbbing on his neck and he knew something would happen." Shortly thereafter they came upon soldiers who shot and killed the other two, but the one with the necklace "became invisible for a stretch and ran most swiftly." He disappeared two more times (as the soldiers fired) before he slipped away, invisible, into the mountains. Solares also spoke of a man involved in the war named Estevan, who asked for a *takulsoxsinas*, a woven headband worn at times of war, that he had "guarded away in his house." When a certain Marcos asked Estevan to give him half of the magic string in question, the latter told him not to cut the *?atishwin* as "it would be like stabbing Estevan's heart."[55]

In the stories of Solares and Garcia, the horse, too, appeared as a means of escape, and it formed part of the supernatural world the leaders could access. Once mounted, it could allow its rider to disappear and then reappear at a safe distance, or even vanish altogether. For example, Solares told of a messenger who was walking from La Purisima to Santa Ines when he met a mounted soldier. Thinking he was on his way to join the other soldiers "to kill us," the messenger "commanded him to dismount from his horse and take his clothes off" before killing him and taking his uniform and mount to Santa Ines. On approaching Santa Ines he lassoed a fresh

horse and was putting on a saddle, whereupon he was challenged by one of the "bravest of soldiers…a man named Valentin," who ordered him to take off the uniform so that it wouldn't get stained with blood when he shot him. The Indian announced: "I have killed a man," and jumped on a horse, disappearing with a victorious cry and leaving Valentin "holding pure air." Moments later, "the Indian and horse made an appearance on a hilltop and yelled, here I am. *Quitanme* (Take it from me!)."[56]

Solares also spoke of the ability of some leaders to transpose themselves into other forms. Transposition played an important role in shamanic systems of thought. Among the Chumash, that power too was tied to the spirit helper who entered the body of the shaman or other political-religious figures. One might be transposed into looking like the helper, or simply use the power to change into other forms. In Solares' story, two brothers named Marcos and Andres entered the jail at Santa Ines "through the keyhole" to free prisoners caught at the beginning of the revolt. This time the infamous Valentin stood in the prison next to the corral, guarding the prisoners. Yet when he looked up and saw the two brothers between him and the prisoners, "Valentin trembled, but did not say a word. Valentin opened the door and went out silently."[57]

In Solares' narrative of this battle between soldiers and Chumash, however, Valentin is a brave soldier and a good match, making it all the more important that the Chumash leader outsmart him and make him tremble. He represents a very different figure from the soldier Valentin Cota in Fray Ripoll's story. Still, it is also worth noting that not all the Chumash accounts are of invulnerability or yet victory. Both Solares and Luisa Ignacio recounted the great despair people felt during the revolt. Solares said that many women left their children by the roadside. Luisa Ignacio emphasized the dangers, stating that many died en route to exile. Solares said the despair was so great that "mothers said 'I am suffering and they are going to kill me and the child. I will throw the child away.'" Still, even when recording such strong emotion, none of the Chumash historians spoke of fear, which was rather the exclusive provenance of the missionaries. Luisa Ignacio told a story drawn from the experience of her mother-in-law, Maria Ignacio, who went into exile from Santa Barbara. The presidio soldiers fought and beat the Indians, and "men and women were already running off over the mountains." The mission official Jaime, whom Luisa Ignacio presented as a shaman or a doctor, singer, and teacher, ultimately persuaded them to return or else, he said, they would be killed by the soldiers. "The women cried, thinking they would all be killed."[58] That said, we must bear in mind that the act of weeping varies in cultural significance, and here represents an emotion that Luisa Ignacio did not identify as fear. For her part Solares spoke of the revolt as a war, and of Chumash desires to take revenge for the killing of Indians. She mentioned the vow one father

made to "revenge myself by killing every woman and man of Spanish race" if something happened to his son. She emphasized instances of Chumash rebels humiliating the families of Mexican soldiers at Mission La Purisima by taking off their clothes and leaving them naked.

All three stories referred to above place the cause of the revolt squarely within the native community. All blame it on the duplicity of an Indian sacristan who appears in each account. Luisa Ignacio stated that the sacristan spread the rumor that "they were going to kill the Indians when the Indians entered the church next summer." In Lucretia Garcia's account, the sacristan tells people that the missionary will "call them out [of mass] into another room one by one and put them to secret death." In Maria Solares' story, the sacristan ends up in jail at the end of the revolt for his lies. Luisa Ignacio had him burned, while Lucretia Garcia ended with his burning and dismemberment. All three accounts reveal the etching of the history of punishment in Chumash memory, making such rumors of arbitrary and violent deaths feasible.

In Concluding

When fear is present in colonial documents to identify Indian thought or action, it requires cautious analysis and should generate suspicion, as fear appeared in Spanish writing for many reasons. It formed part of the colonial language used to describe indigenous people as dependent and lacking intellectual traditions, political vision, and cultivated ways of seeing. Colonial authorities considered fearful and humiliating punishment essential to maintain their rule. Missionary Ripoll used purported Chumash fears to absolve their actions and gain them a pardon from the governor during the 1824 war. During the revolt, the missionaries' belief in liquid fear obscured indigenous political alliances and strategies that produced and sustained such a remarkable action. Finally, among the many uses of fear was to attribute it to one's enemies, thus diminishing their political visions and ideas.

In contrast to the many ways fear appeared in European documents, it remained sparsely used in indigenous colonial writing and community memories about this era. Instead native writers used it in reference to Spaniards and other Europeans because attributing fear lent authority to some, while fearlessness demonstrated strength in conflict. But Indian writing delivered other things than a focus on Spanish-Indian relations. Indian writing such as that of Pablo Tac emphasized native forms of power. Chumash memories of the revolt similarly described those things that gave their leadership and community access to power. Native histories emphasized indigenous authority, and the ability of shamans and elders to

transform conditions and gain knowledge through dance and other practices despite the political defeat that led to their loss of autonomy over their lands. The histories represented native communities as capable of addressing the circumstances they encountered under colonial and Mexican rule, and offer knowledge about the past that is constructive in the present.

The Spanish frequently attributed fear to native people in their writings. By the same token, its relative absence in the colonial texts and oral traditions of indigenous people speaks to a deliberate discursive and historiographic strategy on their part to leave a very different record of their response to colonialism. Looking beyond the colonial archive, fear is certainly present in indigenous oral and written culture. Even so, it and other emotions are expressed in very particular ways that relate to enduring dimensions of native thought and structures of feeling well beyond the reach of Valentin Cota.

CHAPTER 5

Weimar Cinema between Hypnosis and Enlightenment

ANDREAS KILLEN, CITY COLLEGE AND THE GRADUATE CENTER, CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

> Humanity's soul…must be shaken to its very depths. When humanity, subjugated by the terror of crime, has been driven mad with terror, and when chaos has become supreme law, then the time will have come for the empire of crime.
> —Dr. Mabuse, *The Testament of Dr. Mabuse*

On March 29, 1933, Germany's film censor board announced it was banning the new Fritz Lang film *The Testament of Dr. Mabuse*. *Testament* was the sequel to Lang's *Dr. Mabuse the Gambler* (1922), a dark fable that portrayed postwar Germany as a society in the grip of a series of monstrous plots orchestrated by the master criminal and hypnotist Mabuse. At the outset of *Testament* Mabuse has gone mad and been placed in the care of the psychiatrist Dr. Baum. Mabuse eventually dies, but his criminal empire is taken over by Baum, who has fallen under the sway of his patient's "testament." Baum sets in motion a new series of plots whose sole purpose is to instill terror in the populace. At the film's end, however, Baum himself succumbs to madness and winds up a patient in his own sanatorium.

In the statement accompanying the ban, the censor could barely disguise his shock: "The film contains a truly horrendous accumulation of crimes, carried out by a gang whose leader is under the power of a hypnosis exercised by a psychotic." Two months after Hitler had come to power, the official insisted that such a film had no place in the new Germany:

> I cannot conceal my astonishment that precisely in these days someone would attempt to offer such a film to the German people. Even if there were no film censorship in Germany, this film would be enough to make it a necessity.…This horrifying mixture of crime

> and madness threatens public order and security to the highest degree. One could go even further and call this film a threat to the security of the state. For the communist elements, who have now been condemned to political powerlessness, this film—which depicts the organization of a criminal gang and its division into different specialized units (Depts. I, II, etc.)—could serve as a virtual instruction manual (*Lehrbuch*) for the preparation and commission of terrorist acts.[1]

From the censor's perspective, *Testament* represented a particularly scandalous example of a genre that, trafficking in themes of crime and gangsterism, had long been condemned by political authorities and cultural conservatives as threats to law and order. In particular, such views had been strenuously maintained by members of the so-called "film reform movement" (*Kinoreformbewegung*). Reformers reacted to the censor's decision with satisfaction. The archconservative Catholic daily *Kreuzzeitung* greeted the ban as a necessary first step in the "cleansing" of German film: "In the new Germany there can be no place for such misbegotten products of mass fantasy!"[2]

What was striking in the censor's reaction to *Testament* was the fear that, though it lacked any political content, Lang's film represented an incitement not merely to crime but to revolution and terror. A film so vile that it threatened not simply law and order but the political order as such, *Testament* may be seen from the vantage point of March 1933 as representing the very embodiment of a cultural fantasy that had long animated Weimar film censorship: namely, the power of the moving image to incite actions mirroring those depicted on screen. If the precise mechanism by which such incitement occurred remained unspecified, the board's ruling hinted at least at two possibilities. The first was hypnosis itself. This technique, the basis of Mabuse's fearful power, was at the same time a central motif of the film reformers' critique of popular cinema and its dangers, which were often alleged to lie in the suggestive influence film exercised over its audience. The second possibility lay in the related, yet distinct notion of the film as *Lehrbuch*: the film's potential to serve as an "instruction manual" for the state's political enemies. Here the censor invoked, albeit negatively, another central theme of Weimar film history: film's possibilities as a medium of mass education and enlightenment.

No one took these latter possibilities, whether good or bad, more seriously than the new regime's minister of popular enlightenment and propaganda, Joseph Goebbels, who had just begun his campaign to "cleanse" Germany's film industry and harness it to the Nazis' project of "spiritual mobilization." An admirer of Lang's, Goebbels screened *Testament* at the director's request. He concurred with the censor's decision to ban the film,

yet in subsequent months he oversaw discreet efforts to find a way to circumvent the ban.[3] Though these efforts ultimately failed, they appear to confirm stories that despite the seemingly egregious nature of Lang's offense against the cultural standards of the new regime, Goebbels hoped to enlist him for the cause of National Socialist cinema.[4]

Siegfried Kracauer seized on such stories in hinting at an affinity between Lang and the Nazis, suggesting that the director's films found favor among party leaders because of the politically ambiguous proto-fascist tendencies they nurtured. The nightmare of terror and all-powerful, hypnotic control that Lang specialized in creating in his films eventually "came to life," Kracauer proposed; in terms echoing those used by the *Kinoreformers*, he suggested that under National Socialism motifs from the Weimar screen turned into actual events.[5] This argument, however, seems to exaggerate film's power over its audience, and in a way, moreover, that Lang's film *Testament* anticipates and explicitly calls into question. If the purpose of Mabuse/Baum's crimes is to unleash terror, the film also thematizes a second-order fear, namely, that film itself is capable of unleashing destructive forces. Insofar as Mabuse's criminal empire is also revealed to be a media empire, the film represents both the embodiment of a cultural fantasy and a comment on it.[6]

In the following I want to sketch some aspects of the history of this fantasy. This chapter explores the central place of hypnosis in the Weimar cultural imaginary and its connection to a broad set of fears articulated around the "masses," "mass culture," and the problem of "mass psychology." It relates this motif to debates about the new medium of film, which aroused both intense apprehension concerning its impact on audiences and equally intense hopes concerning its possibilities as a medium of public instruction or enlightenment. Anxiety regarding the filmic medium and its hold over audiences found its clearest expression in the film reform movement, but it also mobilized powerful other social forces, whose views were advanced in censorship rulings, in the campaign against so-called "filth and trash" (*Schmutz und Schund*), and in the cultural policies of the Nazi Party itself. Together these forces made the popular cinema a key site in a culture war waged along several fronts. They counted several victories, among them the new censorship law of 1920, which singled film out as the only medium subject to preemptive censorship; a law of 1926 aimed at "trash"; and ultimately the establishment of the Nazi regime in 1933.[7] Yet, as we shall see, the Weimar discourse about cinema was marked by considerable ambivalence, insofar as many participants sought simultaneously to enlist the medium in ambitious projects of social reform, experimentation, and in some cases—as with the Nazis—radical cultural transformation. The question faced by all those who entertained such ambitions, however, remained: was this hope of technologically mediated mass education and

enlightenment itself a false one? The opportunities that many found in film remained fraught with a sense of the Faustian risks involved in trying to exploit the medium's hold over the public it seemed to have conjured up. In explicating the place of hypnosis within the discourse surrounding film in the Weimar era, this paper thus engages with a broader problematic concerning the history of the mass media and their role in radically reshaping the contours of public life in postwar Germany.

Crises and Psychoses

In many ways, *The Testament of Dr. Mabuse*, Lang's second film with sound, is an elaborate homage to Weimar-era silent film, inasmuch as it self-consciously invokes the fantasy of film as incitement to crime and madness.[8] Quite explicitly, it also evokes many of the broader political, economic, and existential fears pervading German society in the aftermath of World War I. This is made clearest in an early scene in which Mabuse's psychiatrist, Dr. Baum, lectures his students on the "common occurrence" of fear-induced madness, a form of mental breakdown brought on by the extreme terror associated with catastrophic events like railway collisions or industrial accidents. This scene comments on the sense of crisis pervading postwar Germany, a society that at times seemed to be in the grip of what Lang himself called, in a 1931 interview, a "colossal fear-psychosis."[9]

This sense of crisis was as much cultural as it was social and political. Military defeat and the political and economic shocks that followed were accompanied by an apparent epidemic of problems ranging from crime and juvenile delinquency to venereal disease and pornography.[10] In response, the German elite embraced a highly medicalized narrative of national crisis that traced the empire's collapse and the social pathologies of the postwar era to a collective moral and nervous breakdown of the German people. Long after the revolutionary turmoil of the immediate postwar period had subsided, the popular energies released at the war's end were still seen through the lens of this narrative. Manifestations of these energies—the numerous "manias" and "mass psychoses" (dancing, gambling, occultism) of the late teens and early 1920s—were diagnosed in the popular and medical press as signs of a kind of collective madness, comparable to problems of "psychic contagion" that were observed among the troops during the war.[11]

The popular cinema was caught up as well in this moral panic, as anxiety about the medium became enmeshed within broader fears concerning rising crime, sexual immorality, and political disorder. A tendency to stress the "demoralizing" effects of cinema on audiences became especially pronounced in a context in which the masses were newly empowered and in

which political life had taken on new and bewildering forms. The efforts of Weimar censors to come to grips with the perceived dangers of popular cinema were conditioned by fears whose most obvious source can be traced to the scenes of crowd violence and action that took place at the end of the war and that had ushered in a new era of German politics. Lang's first "Mabuse" film, which appeared in 1922, received a distribution permit from the censor only after several scenes were deleted depicting a shoot-out between Mabuse's gang and the police. Officials feared such scenes would reawaken the audience's memories of street battles during the Spartacist uprising of 1919.[12] The concern expressed in this ruling—that the film might trigger flashbacks—reflects the medical-psychiatric logic that Tony Kaes identifies as a chief characteristic of Weimar's "post-traumatic cinema."[13] It also reflects a more general apprehension that film, as one official warned darkly, was capable of inciting revolutions.[14]

This public commentary on the collective "psychoses" of the postwar period echoed an earlier discourse of mass behavior. This had originated in France in the 1890s, the decade in which crowd psychology had come of age, and in which concepts from the domain of the psychiatric clinic had first been imported into sociology, politics, and criminology. Hypnosis became a particularly central term in the description and explication of mass psychology. In the writings of Gustave Le Bon, Gabriel Tarde, and others, it seemed to capture a frightening otherness at the heart of modern society: a kind of collective action that could take uncanny and violent forms. The invention of the cinema in that same decade gave a new focus to this fear of the dangerous possibilities modern society harbored within itself. The relation between the cinema and its audience almost immediately became seen as a special case of that form of mass suggestion that Le Bon identified as a basic feature of crowd psychology. When in 1909 author and psychiatrist Alfred Döblin described the film screen as "a giant white eye that cast a spell over its audience," he was invoking what by this time had already become a commonplace of commentary on film spectatorship.[15]

Early twentieth-century German commentators writing about the dangers of motion picture spectatorship tended to stress the following factors:

1. The "uncanny" or "tremendous suggestive" power of the image; absorption in it was compared to a somnambulist state, which could endure even after the film had ended.
2. The physical experience of the cinema itself: the darkened space, which screened out impressions of the outer world; the flickering lights on the screen; poor air circulation; the narrowing of the field of vision and consciousness to the images on screen.
3. The sociological dimension of film-going: the "indiscriminate" gathering of large numbers of people together in the cinema,

> their transformation into a crowd governed by the laws of collective psychology. Surveys indicated that audiences were dominated by women and proletarian youth; psychologically speaking, these audiences represented the "other" of male middle-class consciousness.[16]

Stressing problems of impulse control, suggestibility, and paralysis of the will, such analyses defined film and the liminal social space it occupied as a threshold to a psychically liminal state that authorities perceived as a threat to health and law and order.

Well before the war, such concerns coalesced in the creation of a movement to reform popular film. This movement represented an important strain of the broader reform activism that swept early twentieth-century Germany.[17] In the view of the church and police officials, educators, physicians, and others who made up this movement, popular film—particularly in its most sensational forms, those involving themes of sex and crime, which together constituted the bulk of what was referred to as *Schund* (trash)—represented one of those scourges that, like alcohol and venereal disease, threatened the health of the social body.[18] It was a "site of danger," distilling a number of fears, especially regarding women and children, who were seen as particularly "suggestible."[19]

Rapid expansion of the film industry elicited from reformers demands for enhanced regulatory powers on the part of the state. The explosive growth of an audience for popular film, coupled with the proliferation of films of questionable subject matter, brought down charges on filmmakers that they were destroying the moral character and mental health of Germany's future generations. In 1916, midway through the war, an author writing in the Catholic daily *Kreuzzeitung* about the problem of *Schund* described popular film as a "spiritual bacillus" that threatened to poison the national soul through a "*Kino*-plague." "I am amazed," he continued, "that the *Kino* has not sent more people into the madhouse." Seventeen years before the editorial, in the same publication, celebrating the ban on Lang's *Testament*—a film explicitly linking media representations and madness—such writings anticipated future calls for a form of hygiene or purification of the cinematic public sphere.[20]

One of the most basic forms of this visceral fear concerned the relation between crime drama and actual crime. As Stefan Andriopoulos has shown, many films of the silent era were inscribed by the fantasy of "criminal suggestion," namely, that an individual can be compelled to commit crimes under the influence of another's will. This fantasy found popular expression in the so-called hypnosis film, a genre that counted some of the most celebrated films of the Weimar period among its numbers, including *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* and Lang's "Mabuse" films, but that also

included several dozen lesser examples dating back to the very origins of the cinema. Central to the plotline of many of these films was the image of the hypnotist as master criminal, who used his powers to turn unwitting subjects into instruments of crime. As Andriopoulos has shown, the possibility of criminal suggestion had preoccupied members of the international scientific community since the 1880s, when French psychologists had carried out the first experimental investigations of this scenario, using guns loaded with blanks, paper daggers, and fake arsenic.[21] It was quickly adopted as a favorite motif of early cinema.[22]

Simultaneously, pedagogues, police censors, and medical experts began to worry that the new medium of film might, through its suggestive power, implant socially undesirable ideas in the minds of its viewers. The fantasy of "criminal suggestion" became in this way both a motif of silent film and of the fears evoked by popular cinema among conservative commentators and reformers. These latter sought evidence to back up their claims that suggestible audience members could be induced to commit, through suggestion or imitation, the misdeeds they witnessed on-screen. Energetic efforts, however, failed to yield compelling evidence of this connection. Much of the discussion about film's suggestive powers was, as a result, plagued by hyperbole. A construct distilling powerful fears, criminal suggestion remained empirically nebulous.

Within the ranks of the German *Kinoreformers* one particularly tireless figure was Albert Hellwig, a lawyer whose career spanned the late Wilhelmine and Weimar periods. An advocate of strict regulation who scoured criminological literature, court cases, and medical files to bolster his case against "trash" and its threat to future generations, Hellwig believed that film operated suggestively on all levels of the child's fantasy life, thus posing a danger to his mental and nervous constitution and moral development. Yet while he took for granted that filmic representations of vice incited audiences to misdeeds, Hellwig also recognized that the empirical basis for the causal connection between *Schund* and criminality remained weak: "I regret nothing more," he lamented, "than that it remains so extraordinarily difficult, if not impossible, to obtain exact proofs of the bad effects of the criminal *Schundfilm*."[23] Seemingly in direct contradiction to such statements, however, Hellwig asserted that there could be no doubt that crime films had a "decided effect on juvenile criminality," a fact that could be deduced from "general psychological principles."[24]

Posed in this way, the problem to which Hellwig alluded was a scientific, and specifically a psychological, problem. His reliance on psychiatric patterns of explanation in his attacks on *Schund* reflected an emerging paradigm that found repeated echo in the subsequent public debate about film and its dangerous suggestive properties. This recasting of the discourse about film in a new and more scientific idiom would eventually

become codified in the regulatory measures adopted by authorities. The new motion picture law passed in 1920 reflected this new emphasis on a form of censorship based on objective criteria. It shifted the focus of censorship from contents to effects, thus ensuring that censor board rulings would henceforth accord key place to psychological and medical experts in assessing films in terms of their effects on audiences rather than in terms of aesthetic, moral, or political content.[25]

Throughout the 1920s the Interior Ministry, which assumed authority over film censorship, grappled with these questions. The archives of this ministry provide a fascinating record—including censor board files; opinions by medical, legal, and other experts; and correspondence with regional agencies concerning the practicalities of enforcing bans or other regulatory measures—of the cultural contestations of the period. Ministry officials regularly sought clarification from leading experts in medicine, law, and psychiatry as to whether the question of the causal nexus between film, hypnosis, and crime had been settled. In one oft-cited opinion submitted to the ministry, Viennese psychiatrist Julius Wagner-Jauregg claimed he had conclusively demonstrated in laboratory experiments that people under hypnosis could be compelled to commit crimes.[26] Prominent psychiatrists Karl Bonhoeffer and Emil Kraepelin, meanwhile, strenuously warned against the "suggestive" dangers—from the standpoint of both law and medicine—they saw lurking within the popular cinema.[27]

A comprehensive report submitted by the Regional Health Office of Dresden discussed at length the problems associated with hypnosis films. According to the physician who wrote the report, such dramas often showed experiments being carried out in a manner that served as a training course (*Lehrkursus*) demonstrating the relative ease with which individuals of strong character could place weak-willed subjects under their control. In the wrong hands, such experiments could have all too unfortunate consequences. Although hypnosis had definite therapeutic value, demonstrated above all in the treatment of soldiers suffering from war neurosis, in the hands of lay practitioners it could become a means of creating rather than curing mental illness, leading to "psychological and nervous disturbances, trembling, headaches, and so on." Ultimately, experiments conducted under the influence of such filmic depictions could lead to "the hystericization…of those used by amateurs as experimental subjects."[28]

A further danger lay in the scenario of criminal suggestion. "Could crimes really be committed under hypnosis?" asked the report's author, before going on to say that this happened only rarely and that such occurrences were more frequent under "conscious suggestion." At the same time, he conceded that the boundary between "hypnotic influence" (*hypnotische Beeinflussung*) and "conscious influence" (*Wachbeeinflussung*) remained vague. As further evidence of the danger, he observed that the

possibility of committing crimes such as theft, poisoning, and stabbing had been demonstrated in laboratory experiments. His report concluded that the practice of hypnosis thus had to be closely regulated and that film censors should be given more power to ban hypnosis films.

In 1922, the year of Lang's first "Mabuse" film, the censor board issued a ruling stating that "purely objectively, the possibility of hypnotic influence being turned to criminal purposes is recognized by modern science."[29] Karl Bonhoeffer, head of the psychiatric clinic at Berlin's Charité, fully endorsed this view in an opinion submitted to the Interior Ministry.[30] In fact, however, this was far from being the case, as the results of surveys remained inconclusive. Several experts, among them some who believed strongly in the existence of such a causal nexus, nevertheless cautioned against drawing premature conclusions and recommended further study. The censorship proceedings for one hypnosis film of the mid-1920s included testimony by a specialist stating that not a single unequivocal case of crime under hypnosis had been documented in a German court of law in the preceding twenty-five years.[31]

Yet the notion of film as an "influencing apparatus" (*Beeinflussungsapparat*), one that could incite its audience to socially undesirable acts, retained its powerful hold on the scientific and public imagination.[32] In a manner that confirms Ian Hacking's observations concerning the role of psychological-claims makers in creating social facts, sheer force of repetition helped expert commentators turn the nexus between film, hypnosis, and crime from a matter of speculation into a version of reality far outweighing all arguments to the contrary.[33] Indeed this nexus became so firmly fixed in the popular imagination that it took on a virtual life of its own. Throughout the 1920s culturally pessimistic critics blamed popular film for a wide range of social problems and endowed motion pictures with a frightening capacity to cast a spell over entire audiences.[34] Karl Bonhoeffer warned that, by the early 1920s, the claim that a crime had been committed under hypnotic suggestion or the influence of a film had become part of the "criminal's inventory of excuses."[35] In the censor board's deliberations over *Eyes*, a hypnosis film of 1920, one expert testifying on the film lamented that the statement "I was hypnotized" could now be heard on a regular basis in the courtroom.[36]

Public Hypnosis and Public Life in Weimar Germany

The Weimar discourse about the relation between film, hypnosis, and crime crystallized a number of anxieties rendered acute by the postwar social upheaval. The broader contours of this discourse were shaped by the new political constellation that had emerged in Germany, the restructuring

of public life, and the fear and fascination surrounding the "masses," "mass culture," and "mass psychology" in this period.[37] While concepts of mass suggestion, as we have seen, had already become part of public discourse prior to the war, in the postwar period they assumed new salience. Not incidentally, this development was mirrored in the transformation of scientific psychology from a rather marginal subdiscipline into a field of general public interest.[38] Questions of crowd psychology now preoccupied government and police officials as well as experts in fields like advertising and industrial relations no less than they did academic specialists.

Suggestion was now recognized as a factor in politics (propaganda), in business (advertising), in medicine (the treatment of shell shock), as well as in an array of crowd phenomena. To some extent it was seen as measurable and controllable; far more often, however, as something irrational and dangerous. In his short tract *Suggestion and Its Meaning for the World War* (1917), prominent Munich neurologist Leopold Lowenfeld identified suggestion as "that psychic factor through which the masses are most easily influenced."[39] The war had taught, wrote Lowenfeld, that suggestibility could no longer be seen—as it had by Charcot—exclusively as a characteristic of the mentally ill but could affect anyone (including the French and English intellectuals who had been so easily deceived by their countries' propaganda). Nevertheless, he asserted in a typical caveat, certain individuals—women, children, and psychopaths—were more suggestible.

Such comments were frequently echoed in a postwar world marked by intense political and social turmoil as well as new forms of political enfranchisement and mass culture. In terms reflecting both unease and fascination, the popular press paid much attention to crowd phenomena, to episodes of "psychic contagion" and "mental epidemics." Outbreaks of "expressionist dancing" were one commonly noted symptom of the new "freedom" of the times; another was the episodes of "collective hysteria" that, fueled by the media, were provoked by notorious murder cases. Such episodes reinforced a tendency among authorities, writes Maria Tatar, to see in the public a kind of "deranged double of the criminal."[40]

While the problem of "suggestion" and its dangers resonated throughout the discourse about popular film, it also arose in another topic of official reports, namely, the phenomenon of public hypnosis demonstrations. Such demonstrations had initially become popular around the turn of the century, and were first banned in 1895. A prewar survey conducted by the Interior Ministry found little to warrant serious concern about this phenomenon, but a new survey in the mid-1920s elicited a flood of responses.[41] In the war's aftermath a flourishing trade had developed in public hypnotism. Specialists found a wide public for their demonstrations and experiments, which they performed in numerous venues: street corners, theaters, private clubs, and lecture halls.[42] This development was routinely

condemned by doctors in medical journals and in articles in the daily press, in terms that harked back to an earlier, turn-of-the-century skepticism, when most German doctors regarded hypnotism as a form of charlatanism.[43] What had in the meantime altered the medical view of hypnosis, and what now complicated the official reaction to its popular variant, was its wartime sanctioning as a means of mass treatment for soldiers afflicted with war neurosis. As Paul Lerner has written, the transformation of what had once been associated with the fairground and with medical frauds into a legitimate medical practice opened a Pandora's box that caused postwar authorities no end of trouble.[44]

In the war's aftermath, itinerant practitioners, some enjoying considerable notoriety, traveled the country demonstrating the technique to sizable crowds. A report sent by one regional official to the Interior Ministry traced the problem to the war, when hypnosis had first revealed its value as a means of treatment but also the dangers associated with its unregulated use. The report cited the case of a soldier who was hypnotized by his comrade and abandoned the front in a "trance-like state." Further such abuses had multiplied since the war as lay hypnotists began performing public experiments in hypnotism that they had themselves first experienced as wartime patients.[45] In one official circular, local police were warned of a hypnotist who traveled about treating members of the public onstage by means of a form of "*Überrumpelungs-Hypnose*," a term invoking a notorious wartime method of aggressive electrotherapy and carrying connotations of overpowering and of surprise attack. This method, according to the circular, had been practiced with success on war neurotics, but, it was stressed—in what was perhaps an allusion to a handful of postwar electrotherapy trials that had received much coverage in the popular press—had its risks.[46]

Alongside the lay hypnotists there also emerged a motley crowd of specialists in telepathy, clairvoyance, and other mediumistic practices. As Corinna Treitel has argued, the proliferation of such figures attests to the emergence of an "occult public" in Weimar Germany.[47] State officials as well as legal and medical experts regarded this development with deep misgiving. In a lengthy report submitted to the Interior Ministry, Munich physician Albert von Freiherr Schrenk-Notzing painted it in the darkest colors: "The mass psychosis of war and revolution demonstrates its epidemic effects in the general spread of the addiction to strong spiritual feelings." War and the disorder that followed had loosened normal social controls and fueled a hunger on the public's part for new forms of entertainment but also healing, esoteric knowledge, and spiritual guidance. The German public had become "exceptionally receptive" to all sensations of an occult, secretive character. As a result of political upheaval and the prevailing "feeling of freedom," any unemployed person with a minimum of self-possession could excite the public's interest with his techniques of

"soul vivisection"; traveling around the country he would convince others of their own powers, thus unleashing a "hypnosis epidemic."[48] Reports surfaced of entire towns becoming infected with the "hypnotism plague" and of parents resorting to forms of "counterhypnosis" to free their children from the clutches of unscrupulous lay practitioners.[49]

Such accounts were echoed repeatedly in reports submitted to the Interior Ministry. Regional officials and medical authorities advocated close scrutiny of lay hypnotists and pressed for a national ban on public performances. Virtually unanimously, they concurred that hypnosis and suggestion represented such serious "invasions into the psyche" that they should only be performed by trained experts for psychotherapeutic and "strictly scientific" purposes. Toward this end, one report concluded, "The concept 'scientific' must be defined more narrowly, so that commercially minded performances were prevented from clothing themselves in the mantle of science."[50]

As this statement indicates, existing law permitted such performances only in cases where clear "scientific interest" could be proven. Yet performers found it relatively easy to comply with or circumvent this stipulation. For one thing, while many experts advocated linking the effort to ban public hypnotism to a larger campaign against lay healing ("quackery") of all kinds, this remained difficult as long as laws governing freedom of trade remained on the books.[51] Attempts to crack down on lay healers were met with outcries from organizations representing the interests of such healers as well as petitions from patients claiming miraculous cures at the hands of unlicensed hypnotists.[52] There was also the purely practical consideration of the enforceability of such a ban; as one regional administrator put it: "It seems to me extraordinarily difficult to distinguish between those events in which a scientific interest predominates and those in which that is not the case." A certain degree of suggestion played a role in virtually all forms of treatment, he noted, making it difficult to determine the precise boundary beyond which suggestion became punishable by law.[53]

In framing the problem in this way, the official put his finger on the problem confronting efforts to regulate lay hypnosis. It was precisely a symptom of the "great disorder" of this period that the boundaries between science and nonscience remained highly permeable, creating no little difficulty for those who sought to police these boundaries, and offering much opportunity to the lay hypnotists and others of their ilk. Exploiting legal loopholes, assuming new stage identities, or disguising the true purpose of their performances, these "artists of will-influencing," as Schrenk-Notzing called them, had little trouble circumventing the bans that authorities placed on their performances.[54] Frequently, they enhanced their credentials by calling themselves "experimental psychologists" or experts in "engineering and physics," and by claiming to act in the interests of public "enlightenment." As Schrenk-Notzing warned, these "so-called experimental psychologists, master telepaths, suggestors, disciples of dream

art and sleep dancing" invariably cloaked their performances in a rhetoric of "science and enlightenment." Combining the talents of showmen and scientific popularizers, they tapped into a public thirst for knowledge that both extended and challenged the boundaries of mainstream science.

To some extent, at least, they were also able to count on the interest and support of members of the scientific community. Many reputable scientists adopted an open mind toward such performers, in some cases going so far as to join the "scientific societies" they founded. Such support further complicated efforts to regulate them. These "specialists of inwardness" had staked a claim on the terrain of human behavior and the psyche—precisely the same terrain charted by many of the new sciences of psy (experimental psychology, criminal psychology, psychiatry) actively engaged in the regulatory campaign against them.[55] The ability of public hypnotists to win converts from the ranks of mainstream science attests not least to the degree to which this terrain remained highly contested.

No aspect of the phenomenon of lay hypnosis better illustrates the conundrum facing public officials than the effort to suppress the conducting of "experiments" in connection with such performances. As in the case of hypnosis films, experiments in hypnosis were condemned on several grounds: it was feared that they would cause health problems or would lead to sexual improprieties, crimes, and other misdeeds. Such theatricalizations of scientific procedure were, it may be speculated, also deplored for other, less explicit reasons having to do with the perceived threat to codes of professional honor. Calling into question scientists' monopoly over nomenclature, methods, and credentials, these scientific showmen could count among their audience no shortage of individuals apparently willing to volunteer as "experimental subjects" in demonstrations of telepathy, hypnosis, and so forth. Public interest ran so high that, in some cases, police efforts to shut down performances met with hostility and threats of violence on the part of the crowds assembled in the meeting hall. When medical officers and police officials assigned to monitor one evening's proceedings tried to close them down, they were greeted with a "storm of protest" on the part of the audience, among whom were reportedly numerous "fanatical followers" of the performer. The officials succeeded in extricating themselves from the threat of violence only with difficulty, and had to wait until backup forces arrived to clear the room.[56]

Hypnosis and Counterhypnosis

Such scenes, with their more or less explicit undertones of fanaticism and violence, seemed to confirm the worst fears concerning the dangers associated with hypnosis demonstrations. They conjured up in the official

imagination images of unruly crowds, corrupted youth, and young women preyed upon by unscrupulous practitioners. Yet scenes like this were atypical, and evidence indicates that audience interest in such events was generally of a less menacing character. At the same time, there is reason to believe that such performances were more complex affairs than the conception of them that emerges from official accounts. Some aspects of the phenomenon of public hypnosis raise questions about the model of spectatorship assumed in the notion of "criminal suggestion." Rather than helplessly manipulated dupes (or, in some cases, puppets) of the public hypnotist, Weimar audience members who attended such performances are perhaps better seen as participants in a complex public ceremony that negotiated the unstable boundary between science and magic. At such events, they were treated to performances in which entertainment, enchantment, and enlightenment combined in complicated ways.[57]

It was a regular feature of such acts, for instance, that the performer devoted a segment of his routine to unmasking the tricks of his trade, often at the expense of other well-known performers.[58] Rivals were invariably described as charlatans and fakers trading on the ignorance and gullibility of audience members, who were now put in a position to know better. Exposing the tricks, helping the audience see through the illusion, was a standard part of the program that set the stage for the performer's demonstration of his own, authentic talents. The result was a complicated orchestration of spectatorial engagement and disenchantment, demonstrations of mysterious forces and secret knowledge combined with almost Brechtian "alienation effects."[59] If such demonstrations were often elaborated around a claim to "enlighten" the public, in part they did so by explicitly engaging the very nature of that public's own psychological dispositions and conditioned responses. Addressing the issues posed by mediumistic practices, conducting psychological experiments, posing questions about the boundaries and limits of science—in all these ways, public hypnosis demonstrations marked out a space of epistemological uncertainty and danger but also possibility.

Again it must be recalled that members of the "occult public" tenaciously defended the *right* to see such performances, backing this up with petitions in which they framed this right in terms of the larger political claims and rights of the day: freedom of thought, of trade, and of assembly.[60] It should also be recalled that such performances, and the claims to knowledge they advanced, found adherents among prominent scientists. The hypnotist August Christian Drost, whose 1924 trial on fraud charges featured prominently in the press, was acquitted in part on the strength of testimony provided by a number of reputable scientists.[61] Even Schrenk-Notzing, who advocated the strongest possible police measures against

lay hypnotists, adopted a more lenient stance toward clairvoyants and telepathists. A number of the latter found their services in demand by the state, especially police departments, which turned to so-called "criminal telepathists" to assist them in difficult cases.

One such figure was Erik Jan Hanussen, who enjoyed an illustrious Weimar career as hypnotist, clairvoyant, telepath, and "public enlightener." Hanussen was an accomplished stage performer who specialized in both debunking the claims of other performers and impressive demonstrations of his own powers. He also used those powers to help police forces solve through "telepathic" means a handful of notoriously difficult cases. In some ways his greatest coup, however, may have been convincing several expert committees made up of legal and scientific authorities that his mediumistic "experiments" were not fraudulent.[62] Among these authorities was Albert Hellwig, whose concerns regarding the dangers of popular film were matched by his concerns regarding the dangers of popular mediumism, and who devoted several years to trying, unsuccessfully, to expose Hanussen as a fraud.[63] The fact that performers like Hanussen thrived may have had less to do with the audience's naïve or uncritical belief in their powers than with their own success in staking out a border zone defined by the epistemological clash between science and pseudoscience, ratiocination and magic, disenchantment and belief.[64] Adopting a hybrid presentation that combined elements both of enchantment and enlightenment, such performers proved elusive targets for the regulatory bodies of the Weimar state.

Mass Enlightenment and Mass Suggestion

Claims to enlightenment were not made in a vacuum, nor can they be dismissed as completely hollow. Enlightenment was one of the buzzwords of the Weimar period, much abused but no less significant for that. If, as Robert Proctor has argued, the term was invoked more during the Nazi period than at any other time in German history, it had already become a leitmotif of public discourse in the 1920s.[65] While the Weimar era was famously a period of "great disorder" and of pervasive political, economic, and existential anxiety, it was also a period in which Germans were exhorted on all sides to remake themselves and their society in accordance with new ideals and narratives. Precisely the absence of "operating instructions" that, according to Döblin, was Weimar's signature feature, led to a proliferation of blueprints for social and personal reconstruction, often fashioned along scientific lines, and often experimental in nature.[66]

The postwar development of a public for lay hypnosis reflected not least a profound fascination with the trappings and the ceremonies of modern

science. Popular interest in the spectacular and performative dimension of science, as evidenced in the participation in staged hypnosis "experiments," is but one example of this tendency. This phenomenon points to a populist dimension of the experimental impulse that was a basic element of Weimar culture—to a public desire to participate in the grand Weimar project of experimentalizing everyday life and the self.[67] Rather than part of the morbid "monologue interieur" that Kracauer claimed to find in Weimar film's fascination with uncanny themes, they may be seen as aspects of an ongoing public dialogue about the project of postwar reconstruction and the lines along which to pursue this.[68] This dialogue was conducted in tones of both fear and hope, and film, as we shall see, was elevated to a key role in this ambivalent dialogue. Insofar as it represented the most powerful of the modern mass media, the one with the greatest capacity to shape public opinion, it invited representatives of a variety of scientific and medical disciplines to invest great hopes in it. But if motion pictures were enlisted in the project of reconstructing German society along new, more rational lines, they also continued to be seen as harboring other, more dangerous potentials. In the view of conservatives and progressives alike this charismatic technology represented one of modern civilization's uncanniest forces, a dangerous tool in the hands of those practicing what Schrenk-Notzing called *suggestiver Volksaufklärung*.

This attitude becomes clear in the reaction to the so-called enlightenment film. The first such *Aufklärungsfilme* appeared in the period immediately after the cessation of hostilities, when the Weimar state suspended censorship. Under the general rubric of hygienic consciousness, many of these films addressed controversial topics such as venereal disease, abortion, and homosexuality. Roughly 150 films on sexual topics alone were made in the brief period before censorship was reinstated in 1920. While some treated their subject matter in lurid and sensationalistic ways, others reflected a genuine desire to use the new medium to educate the public on matters hitherto enshrouded in darkness and silence.[69]

As recent scholarship has shown, nonfiction film in a variety of guises—scientific, documentary, enlightenment, educational—was central to the new configuration of expertise and reform that emerged in postwar Germany.[70] At the outset of the Weimar Republic, the young medium was invested with many of the hopes aroused by the new political constellation. Medical scientists embraced its potential for helping construct a rationally ordered society to replace the one left in ruins by the war, showering the Reich Health Office and other agencies with information on a wide variety of educational films, ranging from topics like prostitution, alcoholism, and accident prevention to the treatment of soldiers with brain injuries.[71] These films became part of a broad program of mental hygiene for the masses, one receiving considerable sanction from a state that had belatedly come

to appreciate film's power as a tool for mobilizing the collective energies of the German people.[72] Such films were shown at venues like the Dresden Hygiene Museum and the Reich Health Week.[73]

Spearheading this public health campaign were organizations such as the Reich Committee for Hygiene Education (RAHV), which was tasked with the job of awakening hygienic consciousness among the public. From the outset medical experts and health officials envisioned film playing a key role in this campaign, and the RAHV established its own medical film archive. Films on hygienic topics were seen as vital to the process of educating a populace among whom ignorance, illiteracy, and folk belief remained widespread. In a circular sent out to the *Länder*, the Interior Ministry explained that the task of reconstructing the shattered health of the German people necessitated a far-reaching project of "popular enlightenment." The purpose of this "hygienic propaganda" would be to "awaken the interest of the broad masses in health-related questions," ranging, as subsequent communications elaborated, from tuberculosis and other epidemic diseases to venereal diseases, alcoholism, and job-related accidents.[74]

As an article contributed by the RAHV to the *Reichsgesundheitsblatt* in 1927 put it, the new consciousness demanded by Germany's postwar national health crisis reflected the larger restructuring of political life. Combating disease was no longer a matter of medical authorities administering to a passive populace; it assumed at least some degree of popular mobilization: "[A]long with the proper measures by the authorities, the participation of the people is necessary." Popular participation, however, represented a two-edged sword. As the article went on to lament, the lay healers and homeopaths had recognized this state of affairs much earlier than the professional physicians and, in the void created by lack of oversight, had taken it upon themselves to "enlighten" the populace on all manner of health-related topics, often for the purpose of winning them for their natural-healing associations.[75]

Such documents help contextualize the fears surrounding public hypnosis. Conservative misgivings—whether concerning lay healers and the belief systems they peddled, or the dangerous influences associated with new media—reflected the unease felt by members of the German elite who found themselves operating within a postwar world in which the "public" and the "public mind" had become forces to be reckoned with, objects of obsessive fear and fascination. In her study of the mesmerist craze in mid-nineteenth-century England, Alison Winter notes that the high water mark of this craze coincided with the period of grand reform in British politics, and thus with the question of "influence" on the social body.[76] The same was true of postwar Germany, a nation that out of necessity had embraced social engineering on an ambitious scale, but one in which appreciation of the possibilities of mass education and mobilization mingled with anxiety

about the unruliness of the masses, their addiction to sensationalism, their inability to distinguish genuine from pseudoenlightenment. Exploitation of the public's desire for sensation in the guise of knowledge remained a constant theme of official communiqués, illustrated by a report in Leipzig's *Freie Presse* titled "False Enlightenment" that conveyed a warning from the RAHV, according to which people claiming to be representatives of government agencies fighting venereal diseases had made public appearances at which they spread false ideas about abortion and illegal methods of treatment.[77] Under the guise of "general enlightenment," Germany seemed only to be succumbing to further moral corruption.

This seemed especially to be true in the case of the *Aufklärungsfilm*. Undoubtedly the most notorious of these was *Different from the Others* (1919), a collaboration between filmmaker Richard Oswald and sexologist Magnus Hirschfeld that called for decriminalizing homosexuality. Its exploration of a taboo subject is notable in this context as well insofar as its protagonist, prior to seeking counsel from a sexologist, goes to a hypnotist, who tries (unsuccessfully) to cure him of his homosexuality. In the same year as *Caligari*, the public could thus see hypnosis practiced as part of a rational course of treatment. In 1924, film giant UFA released a popular-scientific film on hypnosis depicting its therapeutic uses in a similarly non-sensationalistic fashion and demonstrating in an on-screen experiment the impossibility of criminal suggestion.[78]

Already by 1919, however, a reaction against the genre had set in, led by conservatives who condemned films such as *Different from the Others* for allegedly trying to "propagandize" for their cause, thus "awakening" immoral desires in the audience. It was the scandal surrounding the sexual enlightenment films that led to the reinstatement of censorship in 1920 following its brief suspension. Many of these films were condemned as forms of trash or *Schund*; by the end of the 1920s the genre as a whole was increasingly subsumed under the pejorative label "tendentious films."[79] This kind of slippage underscores not just the instability of these terms but the complexity of the social space in which they circulated, a space marked by ongoing efforts to lay claim to and influence the public mind and by ongoing contests of knowledge.

Such slippage is a recurring feature of the discourse about the popular cinema as well. Though many films from this period have not survived, censor board files preserve extensive records of the debates surrounding the medium. A representative example is the proceedings for *Das Verlorene Ich* (The Lost Self, 1924). In this conventional variant of the hypnosis film, the bank director de Savigné is befriended by the unscrupulous Corbell, who hypnotizes de Savigné and places him in a sanatorium, then compels him to rob his own bank. The plot is foiled when de Savigné is apprehended

and the court psychiatrist, seeing what has happened, releases him from his spell.[80]

To protest the ban the censor initially slapped on the film, its producers employed an intriguing line of defense, arguing that the film actually represented a warning against exactly the kind of danger the censor charged it with inciting. Rather than a straightforward drama of hypnosis and crime, *Lost Self* represented something more complex: a film that sought both to entertain and to educate, warn, and enlighten the public—ultimately, to practice a form of "counterhypnosis." The film's producers claimed that, insofar as it strove to enlighten the public concerning the tricks and misdeeds of charlatans such as Corbell, the film contained "scientific" value. Given the public interest in hypnosis, testified one, there existed a need for intervention, "regulation," and "enlightenment" concerning its danger: "This film is especially suitable for such a task of enlightenment due to its depiction of criminal activity under hypnotic compulsion. The film will serve to frighten off many viewers from allowing themselves to be used as mediums."

The censor board, perhaps understandably dubious of such claims, upheld its ruling against the film by citing the ban on public hypnosis performances and the use of volunteers as mediums. Its representative further invoked the dangers, both medical and legal, associated with such performances: namely, that "in the postwar period, in which nervousness and overstimulation have increased, irresolute people are especially susceptible to the effects of hypnosis" and thus to the possibility of "criminal incitement." Addressing the claim of "counterhypnosis," he ascertained that such a result could be expected only in the case of "well-disposed" individuals, and even then only after lengthy treatment. Moreover, "The hypnotic demonstrations in the sanatorium…that constitute the core of the film's 'scientific' segment, contain nothing more or less than the popular experiments that are staged by public hypnotists." Such experiments, he went on, lacked any scientific basis. This was especially the case in those scenes—rejected by exact science but taken for granted in popular films—centering on the possibility that a person may be influenced through hypnosis to commit crimes. Far from enlightening or warning, such scenes were likely to spread a false impression about hypnosis among the public.

The censor here dismissed the theory of criminal suggestion, which remained otherwise so central to debates about the dangers of public and filmic hypnosis, instead accentuating the secondary danger that this theory might take hold in the public imagination (presumably, as the psychiatrist Karl Bonhoeffer had warned, leading to spurious claims in court). Rejecting claims for the film's scientific merits as an obvious ploy motivated by

the desire for a permit, the censor wound up becoming entangled in the inconsistencies of a regulatory policy that on the one hand relied on a scientific discourse about "incitement" and on the other struggled to curb the excesses of that very discourse. These proceedings underscore once more how such regulatory efforts became part of a public realm marked by ongoing contests of knowledge, the circulation of new forms of expert discourse, and claims, as well as counterclaims, to enlighten or protect the "public."

Originating in the reformers' critique of popular film, the terms invoked repeatedly in such proceedings—science, enlightenment, public instruction—had become unstable signifiers; to some extent they had been internalized by popular cinema, appropriated as part of its hybrid form of address. Another variant of this hybrid address—performing the tricks, then exposing them—is employed in the film *Betrügerische Medien* (False Mediums, 1925). Here the censor board confronted what was advertised as an "enlightenment film concerning fraudulence in spiritualism." In its first part, the film depicted a variety of spiritualistic practices: mediumistic speaking and writing, table tapping, and other phenomena alleged to represent genuine forms of communication with "spirits from beyond." The film's second part depicted the unmasking of a "fraudulent medium" claiming to "materialize" spirits, making use of a hidden camera to expose the medium's assistant.

The censor board banned the film, finding it lacking in "scientificity" (*Wissenschaftlichkeit*). Not only was the treatment of its themes, from a scientific point of view, superficial, but behind its facade of sober objectivity, the censor discerned a "partisan" motive; unmasking the vulgar tricks of the spiritualist trade served here merely to lend authenticity to the film's "propaganda" for genuine spiritualism. The censor identified a further danger as well, this having to do less with the film's message than with the means of communicating it. Instead of warning the public, the film might well have precisely the opposite effect of inciting it to try out trance states, an effect the censor attributed to the "means of influencing" wielded by film (*das Beeinflussungsmittel des Films*), a medium that "cast a spell over the public."[81]

Medium and message became linked in a highly revealing fashion in this ruling. Yet in denying the claims of both mediumistic practices and the filmic medium to contribute to the advancement of scientific knowledge and popular enlightenment, the censor board's ban raised as many questions as it sought to resolve. What was the boundary between science and nonscience, enlightenment and pseudoenlightenment? How was that boundary to be policed and by whom? What was the relation among the cluster of terms invoked by the censor: "scientificity," enlightenment,

propaganda, and "influence"? More fundamentally, what was the role of the mass media in modern public life?[82]

Conclusion

If such questions are a part of the ambivalent history of attitudes toward film in the Weimar era, then few appreciated this ambivalence more than Joseph Goebbels. "Film," stated Goebbels shortly after assuming his position as minister for popular enlightenment and propaganda in March 1933, "is one of the most modern and comprehensive means of mass influence."[83] Yet its value to the state could only be realized, as film reformers had long argued, once it had been fully "cleansed" of its dangerous properties. March 29, the day of the ban on *Testament*, was also the day that UFA fired all its Jewish employees. Yet even following Goebbels's Aryanization of the film industry, the master propagandist remained wary of the medium's unpredictable qualities. National Socialist film avoided explicit political propaganda to a surprising degree.[84] Exhorted by Martin Bormann in the late 1930s to mount a public education campaign against occultism, Goebbels refused on grounds that such enlightenment programs often backfired, spreading the very belief they tried to combat.[85]

There was considerable irony in the fact that Lang's *Testament of Dr. Mabuse* was one of the first films submitted for review to Goebbels's new ministry. As a virtual compendium of motifs long seen as objectionable, the film was deemed unsuitable for the public and banned. The decision against the film, however, was complicated by Goebbels's admiration for Lang's talents. At a meeting with the heads of the German film industry held March 28, one day before the ban was imposed, Goebbels had singled out the director's *Die Nibelungen* as one of a handful of films he considered indisputably great. According to stories Lang himself circulated, Goebbels reportedly offered Lang, who was half Jewish, the position of head of the nation's film industry.[86] Extensive negotiations took place in an effort to save *Testament* from the ban. These negotiations centered on the possibility of creating a frame that turned the plot into a flashback, narrated by the film's representative of law and order, Inspector Lohmann. Reflecting back on his greatest case, Lohmann cites the example of Mabuse as an argument for capital punishment. That Goebbels had a hand in this is strongly suggested by his enthusiastic reaction to Lang's previous film *M*, which he regarded as an exemplary argument for the death penalty.[87] The reversal here is striking: fear that *Testament* might serve as a *Lehrbuch* inciting Communist terror led to an attempt, ultimately abortive, to transform the film into a *Lehrfilm* justifying the state's power to impose the death penalty on criminals.[88]

Yet Lang's film already incorporates elements of the popular *Lehrfilm* genre in its mode of address, even while it also performs the slippage between entertainment, education, and incitement that so troubled Weimar censors and film reformers. Early in the film Mabuse's psychiatrist Dr. Baum describes his patient's case history to his students while lecturing on the phenomenon of "fear psychosis" (a diagnosis Lang had extended to German society as a whole in a 1931 interview). As Tom Gunning notes, Baum's lecture, by providing a synopsis of *Dr. Mabuse the Gambler*, places the hypnosis film genre within a scientific and medical framework. The scene is carefully lit and shot to convey documentary qualities that are enhanced by its setting, a hospital amphitheater, as well as by the images of brain sections on the screen behind Baum, and by the shots of his students dutifully taking notes. Mabuse is turned into an object of scientific interest, an illustration of a clinical syndrome.

This effect is abruptly dispelled, however, when an image of Mabuse is projected onto the screen behind Baum and we see a shot of the students reacting in unison. This deliberate play on the inciting effects of the image serves as ironic warning to any who believed they might master the power of the medium for scientific or political purposes. Yet the film also problematizes the popular-scientific thesis of the medium's uncanny effects. The notion of criminal suggestion via hypnosis is invoked in the film in a way that immediately casts doubt on it; the figure who does so, Baum's colleague Kramm, has little credibility and is immediately killed off. As we eventually learn, it is Baum himself who now orchestrates Mabuse's criminal network, following—and thus anticipating the censor's fear concerning the film's potential "instructional" effects—instructions Mabuse had scribbled down as a patient in his sanatorium. In a manner that remains undecidable, Baum has either been hypnotized, become possessed, or simply gone mad. The now-dead Mabuse is represented as a phantasm, hovering over the proceedings at key moments as if an apparition from an earlier era of cinema.

While the film makes use of uncanny motifs, it is at its core an exercise in debunking, which is to say, enlightenment. In a scene that perfectly reimagines the fantasy of criminal suggestion, Mabuse's gang assembles in a room to receive their instructions. The room is configured like a cinema: at the far end of an otherwise empty chamber hangs a curtain that is backlit to reveal a silhouetted form, while a deep voice delivers instructions concerning the crimes to be carried out. A later scene reveals that there is no "man behind the curtain," merely a cardboard cutout and a loudspeaker set up by Baum to maintain the illusion that Mabuse remains alive. Mabuse's charismatic power, as Gunning notes, has been converted into a purely mechanical apparatus.[89] *Testament* thus continuously invokes and simultaneously distances us from the fantasy of film's uncanny power to

incite audiences to crime, madness, and revolution. Like the public hypnotists that the figure of Mabuse partly recalls, the film both performs the illusion and then exposes the trickery behind it; it casts the spell, then, via a kind of "counterhypnosis," undoes it.

The censor proceedings and behind-the-scenes maneuvering surrounding *The Testament of Dr. Mabuse* thus recapitulate the deeply ambivalent Weimar debate about the power of the new mass medium of film. This ambivalence is strikingly illustrated in the search for a new frame by means of which to transform Lang's film from social threat into a means of public instruction—a reframing the censor himself, stressing the uncanny power of the "image," remained profoundly skeptical about.Yet the film itself already comments on this ambivalence through its treatment of Mabuse, one of the emblematic figures of Weimar's "haunted screen": he is represented simultaneously as a case study and a scientific object, and as a phantasmal object of official fear and condemnation, and yet also—as reports of Goebbels's screening of the film on his thirty-sixth birthday in October 1933 remind us—of enduring fascination.[90]

CHAPTER 6

Italian Fascism's Wartime Enemy and the Politics of Fear

MARLA STONE, OCCIDENTAL COLLEGE

Modern politics has proven the centrality of political, social, and racial enemies to the nation-state, no matter the nature of that state. America in the last century has had a number of enemies, including the Communist of the Cold War and the "Arab" terrorist of contemporary politics. Modern conceptions of the enemy, from the Hun of British World War I propaganda to the Islamic terrorist of American culture, and the fears associated with them, thus have significant commonalities. Indeed fear of a barbaric and civilization-destroying enemy only accelerated with the growth of the nation-state and the rise of mass politics and became an essential weapon in the arsenal of government. As Max Weiss writes in the introduction to this volume, by looking at the historical specificity of each case and at the ways in which time and place shape the characterization of the enemy we can reach new understandings about the politics of fear. Fear is an elemental condition readily mobilized by the state, and as we move deeper into the twenty-first century the recruitment of that basic emotion seems both more focused on specific political and racial enemies and more diffused into a ubiquitous anxiety over the fragility of society.

Italian Fascism, the first of the nationalist, authoritarian mass movements of the interwar period to come to power and the regime that offered a template to the Nazis, put the crusade against an absolute life-destroying enemy at the center of its politics. During its twenty-four years as a movement and regime, Italian Fascism defined itself against an array of internal and external enemies from "subversive Socialists" and "barbarous Ethiopians" to "Anglo-American plutocrats" and "monstrous Bolsheviks." For the Fascist regime, the declaration of crusades against internal or external enemies had a self-defining, mobilizing, and fear-inducing function. Fascist ideology and politics targeted various enemies of the people, state, and nation as its domestic and foreign policies shifted. However the most consistent enemy of the Fascist revolution, from its origins in 1919 to its final

days in 1943, was the internal and external Left. In the language of Fascist politics, the anarchist, Communist, Red, or Bolshevik stood interchangeably for all leftist opposition.

This chapter analyzes Italian Fascist depictions of the Communist enemy as a way to understand how the regime represented and manipulated the fear of the loss of all that Italians held dear in order to mobilize the population for war. To do this, I focus on two critical periods in Fascism's wars: (1) the military participation on the Nationalist side in the Spanish Civil War (1936–39) and (2) the Nazi war against the Soviet Union (1941–43). The war in Spain, framed by the regime as a "holy war" against communism, marked the move in Fascist discourse and politics from a concentration on an internal enemy to a focus on an external threat. By the time of the invasion of the Soviet Union, the specter of a demonic Communist enemy had taken a central place in the Fascist imaginary.

Fascism at war assigned its primary enemy two types of characteristics, each embedded with a specific set of fears. The first set of fears was based on the familial nexus of ideas linking nationalism, colonialism, eugenics, and "racial science" as they had evolved in Europe from the mid-nineteenth century.[1] These depictions stressed the enemy's barbarism, criminality, and degeneracy—its antinational character and inherent otherness. They also depended upon the idea that the enemy carried immutable biological characteristics, which were highlighted with ever greater frequency after 1936. Such racialized depictions, which further accelerated as Fascism's wars multiplied, ultimately assigned the enemy "indelible, immutable, and transgenerational" characteristics that amounted to "fixed differences rooted in the body."[2]

The racialized depiction of the enemy furthermore relied upon extant dichotomies borrowed from "racial science" and colonial othering practices: domestic versus foreign, civilized versus barbaric, moral versus immoral, light versus dark, and clean versus dirty. Like biological anti-Semitism and biological racism, Fascist propaganda presented the enemy as an insidious vector of disease. Such polarized scientific racism had only gained traction with the invasion of Ethiopia in 1935, taking many of its components from the well-developed continental discourse about racial hierarchies and European global entitlement to land. At the apex of Fascist race ideology in 1938, the regime even asserted that there was "now a pure Italian race."[3] It codified this position in the anti-Semitic Racial Laws of the same year.[4]

In its mobilization for war thus infused by the rhetoric of genetic purity, the regime, most markedly in mass culture, depended upon a second set of characteristics to provoke visceral fear of its ideological foe. This constellation of characteristics drew on elemental fears: fears over the integrity of the family and the survival of the Catholic Church. This characterization of the enemy raised anxieties associated with people's private and pre-Fascist

identities. The dictatorship, in its pursuit of support for war, recruited Catholicism, localism, and family, once argued in Fascist ideology as antithetical to the construction of the Fascist state, to produce a culture of fear. From 1936 forward, the regime depicted the Communist enemy as a direct threat to the family, the honor and chastity of women, and the Catholic Church. In encouraging fear of the dissolution of the family, this aspect of Fascist anti-Communist propaganda highlighted the notion that communism meant gender inversion and that it created effete men and masculine women, thereby leading to "unnatural" social and sexual relations. At the same time, the Communist enemy was presented as sexually depraved. Such social and sexual deviance, went the argument, would destroy the family and force Italians into a state of immorality and mortal sin.

The anxieties that government and party officials, ideologues, and cultural producers believed could marshal the population for Fascism's wars determined official depictions of the enemy from Spain to Albania, from Greece to Russia. The two sets of characteristics assigned to the enemy had a complex trajectory through the Italian cultural world of 1936 to 1943. Representations dependent on racialized and physically determined characterizations were more pronounced in cultural forms with limited circulation and circumscribed audiences, such as the fine arts and limited-circulation journals and pamphlets. In contrast, the notion that the enemy needed to be defeated to prevent the dissolution of the family and the Church became the focal point of depictions targeted at mass audiences, especially in feature films.

The fears cultivated by Fascist wartime propaganda speak to the debate over Fascism's penetration of society and to the success of its quest for Fascist "new men" who had absolute allegiance to Il Duce, the party, and the state.[5] Had the regime forged a "civic religion" that engaged the hearts and minds of Italians, as Emilio Gentile has argued? Did the Fascist "symbolic universe" of liturgy, ritual, symbol, myth, and commemoration to which the regime dedicated increasing time and attention by the 1930s successfully bind Italians to the Fascist project?[6] Had Italians become believers in and members of "the Fascist cult"? Had Fascism achieved its goal of "regenerating the character of Italians and creating a new Italian race"?[7] Or, as Richard Bosworth counters, did Fascism at war "succeed very partially in holding sway over their minds?"[8]

In answer to these questions, I argue that wartime representations of the enemy and the fear-mongering strategies mobilized in those representations reveal the Fascist regime's failure to integrate people's deepest senses of themselves in the world with its own priorities. The Fascist regime's pursuit of control of the Mediterranean and its celebration of a New Fascist Order of hierarchy, discipline, and racial order did not mobilize the majority of Italians, especially when those crusades faltered. Rather than

call on Italians in the name of Fascist empire or to build the Fascist racial state, much wartime culture rallied the population through fear for the loss of the most fundamental components of life. In other words, the Fascist wartime elevation of family and faith to explain "why we fight" bespeaks the ways in which the dictatorship failed to "colonize the consciousness" of Italians.[9]

In its time of crisis, Fascism's final reaching out to the people entailed a campaign to terrify the population and to raise the specter of the loss of what people perceived as their most immediate and deepest connections. Historians struggle with how to evaluate or measure the integration of ideology into people's lives under dictatorship, from attempts to assess public opinion to appraisals of public dissent.[10] This chapter analyzes characterizations of the enemy, reading the narrative and cultural choices of Fascism at war as a route into the lived experience of Italian Fascism and as a way to understand the regime's mobilization of the politics of fear.

The Internal Enemy

Before we can understand the terrifying enemy central to Fascist wartime propaganda, we must see its roots in the belief in an absolute and destructive enemy in Fascism's earliest days. Fascism as a movement was born in 1919 in a crucible of anti-Socialist violence, with Fascist squads' attacks on the leaders and institutions of Italian socialism, and the political "cleansing" it brought about would hold a proud and central place in Fascist identity and politics.[11] Once the Fascists gained power, their propaganda located anticommunism at its core, despite the defeat and destruction of the Italian Communist Party by 1927, and used it as the ever-looming threat requiring constant vigilance.[12] The vanquished political enemy remained the dominant threat to national peace and resurgence; the regime held the specter of the Left over the heads of the population as the force ever ready to reemerge and catapult the nation into chaos.

Mussolini and the National Fascist Party declared socialism and then, after 1921 with the founding of the Italian Communist Party, communism, the great menace to the continued existence of the nation and to the Italian body politic. In its violent, revolutionary struggle to take power, Fascism represented itself to a nation in crisis as all that was national, Italian, and organic, while the Socialists and Communists stood for collapse, disorder, and foreignness. In this early period of Fascist propaganda, the Red enemy was often disembodied, that is, represented by a symbol, most commonly a trampled red flag or a smashed hammer and sickle.

Consolidation of the Fascist dictatorship and the effective destruction of the political opposition notwithstanding, anxiety over the defeated, but

potentially resurgent, Communist enemy remained central to Fascist identity and politics. The national regeneration forged through Fascism required vigilance against an internal enemy that, while violently defeated, could, at any moment, reemerge. This defeated domestic enemy was front and center during the regime's great tenth anniversary celebrations of 1932. The flurry of books, pamphlets, memoirs, posters, and postcards published in honor of the decennial celebrated the Fascist revolutionary seizure of power and articulated deep fears about a Left that had held the nation hostage from 1919 to 1921. In *Guerra rivoluzionaria e rivoluzione guerriera*, Francesco Di Pretoro of the Fascist Institute of Culture mythologized the story of Mussolini and the Fascist squads' heroic and violent triumph over the forces of destruction. For Di Pretoro, the Blackshirts alone had confronted the antinational demons on the streets of Italy and had protected the postwar home front from dissolution: "It was clear," wrote Di Pretoro, "that the Fascists were driven by the same holy faith consecrated by our martyrs and heroes." The Socialist enemies of the nation, continued Di Pretoro, had spat on "the survivors, the wounded, the invalids, and the veterans" of the First World War.[13]

At the primary event of the regime's decennial, the Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascista (Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution), a demonic, ruthless, and chaos-inducing enemy held pride of place; the struggle against that enemy lay at the heart of the Fascist story of the national defeat and recovery.[14] The exhibition blended art and artifacts to offer a three-dimensional reinterpretation of the recent past. The exhibition's organizers stressed the Fascist postwar crushing of "Italian Bolshevism" over Italy's own victory in World War I.[15] In one of the exhibition's pivotal rooms—Room E, which focused on the year 1919, when leftist activism swept Italy and the Fascist squads first came out to fight it—photomontage, wall installations, art, and artifacts gave form to Mussolini's characterization of the Socialists as "the recurring beast."[16] The room's central wall display contained an enlarged photo of the disembodied and screaming head of a radical worker. His red-tinted face is contorted into a spasm of demonic possession. The red scarf at his neck chokes the life out of him.

I Senza Dio (the Godless)

With Fascist military intervention on the side of Franco in the Spanish Civil War, the regime mobilized widespread fear of an enemy now wreaking havoc abroad and intent on global domination. As of the summer of 1936, the great fear at the center of Fascist propaganda was a hydra-headed external enemy that had to be defeated in Spain before it engulfed all of Europe. Or as *Critica Fascista*, the journal often seen as the pinnacle of Fascist intellectual life, opined in 1938, "the future of Europe is decided

in Spain today."[17] According to government and party propaganda, from newsreels to pamphlets celebrating Italian battles in Spain, to the memoirs of its heroes, to popular films glorifying the Nationalist struggle, the war in Spain was a Fascist crusade against godless and foreign Reds for the defense of civilization, social order, family, and Christianity.[18] It was a life-or-death struggle against Marxists, atheists, Jews, and Freemasons who had come to Spain to desecrate churches and torture priests and nuns. "Slaves to materialism, the Bolsheviks seek only to lower mankind to the level of animals, destroy the purifying religious feelings which are innate to all men" explained *Fascismo contro bolscevismo*.[19] Italian coverage of the war, from *Istituto Luce* newsreels to feature films, conflated the multiparty, legally elected Spanish Republic to *I rossi* (the Reds)—an undifferentiated and uncivilized rabble led by foreigners and mercenaries.

Fascist descriptions of the enemy raised both sets of fears and anxieties discussed earlier in this essay—that is, fears about the enemy articulated in ideological and racial terms and ones that stressed threats to family and faith. The Spanish Republican forces were "Marxism's barbarous mercenaries," detached from nation or allegiance. Binaries, such as polluted and pure, associated with racial categorization permeated official accounts of the war. Writing in *Prospettive*, Curzio Malaparte described the fall of Madrid in terms of racial purity: "Already the Nationalists are in Madrid. The War in Spain is over, the Mongolian pseudoideology that tried to pollute that most pure Latin civilization has been pushed back and destroyed."[20]

Throughout the conflict, novels, soldiers' diaries, journalists' accounts, and films on the Spanish Civil War articulated the great fears and dystopian future embedded in the possibility of defeat.[21] Augusto Genina's *L'assedio dell'Alcazar* (The Siege of the Alcazar) of 1940 brought Italian audiences a combat-adventure film that became the iconic representation of the stakes in Spain.[22] *L'assedio dell'Alcazar* tells the by-then famous story of over 1,300 Nationalist soldiers and their families who survived a sixty-eight-day Republican siege within the Alcazar fortress of Toledo between July and September 1936. Sustained by prayer and faith during their weeks of deprivation and shelling at the hands of the Republic, the besieged were finally "liberated" by Franco's forces. Soon to become one of Fascist Italy's most important war films, *L'assedio dell'Alcazar* won critical, official, and popular acclaim in 1940–41.[23] At the 1940 Venice Film Festival, it was awarded the Coppa Mussolini (Mussolini Cup), the festival's highest honor. Hugely popular, the film was shown in twenty countries, with more than 350 copies printed.[24] This Italian-Spanish joint production was released simultaneously in Italian-, Spanish-, and German-language versions.[25]

L'assedio dell'Alcazar both terrified and reassured. The film made the distinctive place and space of the Falangist struggle into a universal site for the representation and reinforcement of Fascist and Catholic values and a cautionary tale of a battle almost lost. Most Italian spectators in 1940 knew

the story of the siege. The film invited them to participate in a great emotional upheaval of terror and liberation and prepared them to leave the theater poised for the next battle. The Italian and Spanish editions opened with a prologue to set the ideological parameters and to raise the specter of what was at stake:

> In Spain, Bolshevism threatened to sink the land into chaos. Then a small group of nationals gathered around General Francisco Franco to fight against the Red Peril. In the final hours, the group was successful in saving Spain from certain destruction by the red hordes.

Through diegetic juxtapositions of friend and enemy, the film told audiences what to fear and what to identify with. Within the besieged Alcazar and away from the corruption of the "red" Republic, a healthy and organic national community in the shape of a traditional patriarchal family emerges: the men take care of the women; the young take care of the old; everyone reveres the Virgin Mary.[26] The besieged are a family, as embodied in "the nation"—mothers, fathers, elderly, children, and babies—all under the double protection of the *Patria* (the flag) and the Church. The soldiers in the Alcazar shield the threatened Nation and endangered womanhood. At the top of the patriarchy stands Colonel Moscardo, shepherd to the flock of besieged, who leads with faith and the knowledge that God will bring "our own" (Franco's troops). In a reference to Christianity's founding offering, Moscardo himself makes the ultimate sacrifice: when "*I rossi*" telephone to inform him that they have captured his son and will shoot him if the resisters do not give up, Moscardo tells his son to "Give your soul to God and die like a patriot, shouting, 'Long live Christ! Long live Spain!'"[27]

With quick edits, the film compares the collectives inside and outside the Alcazar. Images of the social order and sacrifice of the besieged precede scenes of chaos and disorder on the Republican side. As orderly and well-dressed families enter the Alcazar, the emboldened enemy, an undisciplined rabble with raised, clenched fists and red flags, riots in the streets. This is the first of the film's many diegetic juxtapositions of well-groomed and middle-class Nationalists, who operate within a "natural" social and gender hierarchy, against the wild, dirty, all-male bands of *rossi*. While the Nationalist community represents all ages and sexes, with each in its proper and natural place, "*I rossi*" are men detached from family and faith.[28]

In *L'assedio dell'Alcazar*, Catholic faith divides the saved from the damned, and it is the fear of eternal damnation that hangs over film. As the enemy devises better ways to destroy, such as drilling holes beneath the Alcazar to lay dynamite, the besieged receive collective communion and absolution. From a scene in front of the "Virgin of the Alcazar," in which the entire community is filmed on bended knee with hands held in prayer,

Genina's camera cuts to the Reds, who with threatening and clenched fists shout "Long live the Republic!" This jump cut creates the impression that the Reds are taunting the "holy church." The specter of desecration also looms: in one scene, Red officers eat a sumptuous lunch in a requisitioned bishop's residence. They have left up "the sacred images, because, after all, they are decorative." At the bishop's table and seated beneath a crucifix, the Communists toast the destruction of the Alcazar "in the name of the proletariat." By swearing false oaths in front of the blessed objects of the mass, these godless desecrate the faith. The Catholic Church, often critical of Fascist-era comedies and melodramas, hailed *L'assedio dell'Alcazar* and encouraged its screening. The Church supported the Fascist intervention in Spain, seeing the war as a crusade to protect the Church and its flock from "the Godless." In contrast, the film's emphasis on Catholic devotional life was so persistent that Joseph Goebbels, the Nazi minister of public enlightenment and propaganda, wrote of the need to "cut out the religious scenes," and it was shown in Germany without the multiple scenes of collective prayer and communion.[29]

While *L'assedio dell'Alcazar*'s primary narrative about the terror of the enemy focuses on threats to traditional family structures and the Catholic Church, a secondary discourse locates the differences between the Nationalists and the Socialists in the body. Visual markers, such as unshaven faces and tattered, soiled, and worn clothes, announce the enemy's bodily opposition to normative social and ethical codes. Such visual cues lead the viewer toward the possibility that ideology is written, like race, on the body. The dirty, often shoeless militia soldiers have neither uniforms nor hats, in stark contrast to the Nationalist soldiers, who are in full and pristine uniforms even under heavy shelling. Old age or gluttony or foreignness signal the degeneracy of the Republican leadership.

By linking racial difference to ideological difference, the film proposed that racial miscegenation and decline would come with a Republican victory. In a scene in which a Nationalist officer disguises himself as a member of the Red militia, the film proposes a genetic/biological connection between ideology and physical appearance. A Nationalist officer volunteers to leave the Alcazar to make contact with Franco's forces. He dons the tattered, dirty clothes of a captured militia fighter. He wipes dirt on his face and, somehow, has quickly grown a beard and longer hair. His costuming as a Red fails however: in a Red café, he is identified as Capitano Alba, not the Jose Fernandez whose identity he had attempted to assimilate. He is, as one reviewer put it, "ferociously executed by the reds."[30] This scene operates in ways similar to blackface performance in which a character performs racial difference, with the audience complicit in the performance. Despite being costumed in the "drag" of a Red, the Nationalist officer's real identity cannot be hidden.

L'assedio dell'Alcazar gave cinematic form to the fears at the center of Fascist propaganda—fears of chaos, gender disorder, racial difference, and desecration of the faith found in the Italian press, government newsreels, party and government posters, and postcards. The film set the tone for later representations of the enemy by combining the emergent racial discourse with family and faith discourses. The film celebrated a Catholicism tied to nationalism and Fascism, a Catholicism of conquest and the vanquishing of unbelievers. Salvation was on the side of the Fascists, and only those already in the national community. Those outside it, who carried on their bodies the immutable marks of deviance, had to be defeated.

The Demonic Enemy from the East

Italian Fascist participation in the Axis war against the Soviet Union, signaled with the first Italian troops arriving on the Eastern Front in July 1941, accelerated a terror-inducing propaganda campaign focused on the Communist enemy. It also led to a wave of cultural production highlighting the Eastern Front and the special horrors of the enemy found there. Anxiety over racial difference and the idea that the Russian enemy was barbaric, outside the confines of Western civilization, and determined to destroy Italian life at its most basic familial level reached panic proportions. As the Italian military campaigns failed, and as Italy's subordination to Nazi Germany grew more obvious, the ferocity and barbarism of Fascism's enemies became the central official explanation for the war. Rather than focusing on the strengths of the Nazi-Fascist New Order or "glories of the warrior," government and party propaganda clung to the threat of a ferocious and primitive enemy.[31] The war against the Soviet Union was increasingly represented as a clash of civilizations—a war between the virile Fascist warrior descended from the Romans and the racially degenerate and weak Slavs and Jews who conspired to destroy Italian civilization, the Catholic Church, and the family.

Between the Fascist fighting in Spain and the arrival of Italian troops on the Eastern Front, Italy fought and lost a number of battles and promulgated its own racial ideology and Racial Laws.[32] The introduction of explicit racial politics after 1938 and the wars in Albania, Greece, and North Africa between 1939 and 1942 intensified official racialized depictions of the enemy. During this same period, popular support for war eroded. Through the late 1930s, Fascist ideologues had promulgated a racial theory based on Latin superiority. This Mediterranean school of Italian racial thought asserted Italians' racial, cultural, and political descent from the Roman Empire and connected this to claims about racial, national, and cultural superiority. As the Fascist imperial project came to fruition with the conquest

of Ethiopia and the declaration of empire in 1936, Mussolini had a particularly strong interest in promoting a racial ideology that he believed would remind Italians of their Roman warrior past and inspire them to future conquests.[33] In 1938, Mussolini took the racial politics of empire in a new direction, declaring Italians to be racially Aryan and linking this to biological anti-Semitism, and then to the regime's ideological enemy, the Communists.

In addition to proposing racial hierarchies and celebrating the Italian racial inheritance from imperial Rome, Fascist racial ideology asserted the danger and provoked dread of the "lower races," especially Slavs and the Jews. A central source for stoking anxiety over racial decline was the biweekly magazine *La difesa della razza* (Defense of the Race). This now-infamous magazine represents the Fascist racist worldview at its most pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic. Published from August 1938 until June 1943 and edited by committed biological racists such as Guido Landra, Telesio Interlandi and, later, Giorgio Almirante, the journal presented itself as a forum for introducing Italians to the terrors of "international Jewry," racial degeneration, and what it considered the weakening of the Italian "racial stock." It produced the most incendiary racist propaganda of the era, copied in large part from National Socialist anti-Semitic propaganda and full of rehashed theories of Jewish-Bolshevik conspiracy and the threats it posed to the Aryan race.[34] Two of *La difesa della razza*'s covers are exemplary: the March 20, 1939, issue titled "Antiracists of the World Unite" links Jews, Communists, and Africans in a critique of the civilizability of each. An African family is dressed in European bourgeois clothing and a caricature of a "Jewish Communist" intellectual wears a grass skirt as they all pose for a photograph. The latter adjusts the African's bow tie, since he is the choreographer of this role-playing. The second cover, from August 5, 1938, warns of miscegenation, showing a *gladium* (a Roman short sword), representing Fascism, dividing the civilized and advanced races (symbolized by Rome) from the lesser ones symbolized by Jews and Africans. The photomontage consists of three heads: those of an Aryan, represented by the classical statue Doriforo by Policleto; a Jew, indicated by sculpted caricature; and an African woman with an indigenous hairstyle and jewelry. *La difesa della razza*, and the writings of its group of biological racists, linked the regime's racial and political enemies, presenting them as threats to the health, safety, and future of all Italians.

With the invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, the rallying cry of *Roma o Mosca* (Rome or Moscow), a long-standing component of Fascist politics, was translated into a cataclysmic struggle with an external enemy, the Soviet Union.[35] "Now the two forces…meet and clash: one with the idea of social disintegration and a return to the state of nature, and the other with the idea of social order and an always greater and deeper

Figure 6.1. Ezio Castellucci, *Requisition*, from Stato Maggiore R. Esercito, *Prima Mostra degli Artisti Italiani in Armi* (Rome, 1942).

affirmation of human potential, through a hierarchy of values and a simultaneous valorization of the people's energies," wrote Francesco di Pretoro in *Fascismo e Bolscevismo nell'Europa e nel Mondo*. "One is the darkest and most primitive country," he added, "and the other, the brightest and most productive civilization in Europe."[36]

This idea of a clash of civilizations dominated high and low culture after 1941. In the spring of 1942 the Prima Mostra degli Artisti Italiani in Armi (First Exhibition of Italian Soldier-Artists) was held in Rome at the Palace of Exhibitions; between November and January 1942 it traveled to Berlin, Munich, Vienna, and Bucharest as the Feldgraue Italienische Künstler Stellen aus.[37] This exhibition, organized by the army, displayed 797 works of art by artists serving at the front. These soldier-artists gave exhibition-goers across occupied Europe a chance to see "the lived experience" of war and "the tragic and inhuman consequences of the Bolshevik utopia."[38] The exhibition singled out the Soviet enemy for special condemnation. In a series of seven ink drawings, Ezio Castellucci, a captain in the Italian Expeditionary Forces on the Eastern Front, offered a representation of the Soviet/Russian enemy that was congruent with Fascist racial ideology and ideas about Communist/Russian racial degeneracy and was designed to

Figure 6.2. Ezio Castellucci, *The Feast*, from Stato Maggiore R. Esercito, *Prima Mostra degli Artisti Italiani in Armi* (Rome, 1942).

provoke a deep terror of the enemy.[39] For Castellucci, the soldiers of the Red Army and Russian women and children were subhuman, animal-like apparitions in an unforgiving landscape of deprivation and violence. In *Requisition* (figure 6.1), a Red Army soldier pillages the hut of a terrified peasant woman. Surrounded by the furniture he has ransacked, he heads for the door, grasping his spoils. The peasant woman cowers next to an icon of the Virgin, which, though small, is rendered the central object in the room through the use of shading. The ghoulish, smirking soldier threatens the viewer, while the peasant woman looks sadly in the other direction. Between them is a covered corpse—the woman's murdered husband? The soldier, with his pointy ears and sunken and beady eyes, in his plunder (and rape?) of this poor, pious woman is demonic.[40]

In *The Feast* (figure 6.2), also by Castellucci, a group of Russian peasants hack at a horse's dead body. Castellucci conveys the supposed savageness

Figure 6.3. Ezio Castellucci, *Comrade*, from Stato Maggiore R. Esercito, *Prima Mostra degli Artisti Italiani in Armi* (Rome, 1942).

of the Russians through the pleasure they take in ripping off bits of the horse's flesh and then eating it raw. Again, the menacing figures face the viewer. The frozen, barren landscape in which Russians bearing hatchets run forward implies the subhuman nature of the enemy. Men and women are barely differentiated, reinforcing again their lack of civilization. Both male and female civilians on the Eastern Front reflected the racial hierarchies of Fascist wartime propaganda.

Taking up the notion of Soviet/Russian biological inferiority, Castellucci drew a Soviet enlisted man in the sarcastically titled *Comrade* (figure 6.3) and a Soviet political commissar in *Commissario* (Commissar) (figure 6.4). The large, clumsy soldier is cross-eyed with a confused and disoriented facial expression. His hands are raised in submission and his shoulders stooped. This enemy, implies the image, is both mentally and physically

Figure 6.4. Ezio Castellucci, *Commissario*, from Stato Maggiore R. Esercito, *Prima Mostra degli Artisti Italiani in Armi* (Rome, 1942).

damaged. The commissar, on the other hand, has a wily, deceptive stare and close-set, beady eyes. Read together, these portraits argued that the Russian foot soldier, mentally limited, was controlled by the physically small but devious political officer. Castellucci's caricatures literally put a face to the racial ideology adopted by the regime in 1938.

Wartime feature films both conveyed the terror of the enemy and entertained. Mussolini and the regime's cultural bureaucrats had long been committed to cinema as the regime's "strongest weapon," and the war only reinforced this belief. The government and the party continued to fund film production and distribution in Italy up to the collapse of Fascism in the summer of 1943. Film production, in fact, increased during the war years, making feature films, in genres from combat films to melodramas, a primary means of wartime communication between the regime and the

population.[41] In these films, depictions of the enemy pervaded. Films such as Augusto Genina's *Bengasi* and Goffredo Alessandrini's *Giarabub* supplied depictions of heroic Italian resistance to the nefarious British enemy on the North African front; *Una pilota ritorna* (A Pilot Returns) and *Quelli della montagna* (Those from the Mountains) took their plotlines from the Fascist wars in Albania and Greece.

The Communist enemy—its godlessness, its barbarism, its threat to the social and gender order—received the bulk of the cinematic focus, with a string of Italian films in 1942 and 1943 highlighting this special terror. These included Marcello Albani's *Redenzione* (Redemption), Romolo Marcellini's *Inviati Speciali* (Special Envoy), Gottfredo Alessandrini's *Noi vivi* (We the Living), Carmine Gallone's *Odessa in Fiamme* (Odessa in Flames), and Roberto Rossellini's *L'uomo dalla croce* (Man of the Cross). Carmen Gallone's *Odessa in Fiamme,* a joint Italian-Romanian production of fall 1942, offers a narrative of Bolshevik attacks on the family and the enemy's eventual total defeat. This film tells of a family trapped by the 1940 Soviet occupation of Bessarabia. The protagonists, a mother (a singer), a father (an apolitical lout), and child struggle against the barbarities of the occupation. When the child is captured by the Red Army, the mother works to liberate her daughter and the father is converted to the cause of the Axis, which is victorious over the Red Army. The funding and attention given to films depicting the enemy implies the faith the regime had in the ability of terrifying images of the enemy to cement the allegiance of the wartime public.[42]

Fear to Salvation

Still, with mounting Italian casualties, the message could be conflicted. Indeed, of the many wartime portrayals of the enemy, Roberto Rossellini's *L'uomo dalla croce* (Man of the Cross) remains one of the most compelling in its simultaneous evocation and rejection of prescribed characterizations of the enemy. One of Rossellini's least-known films, *L'uomo dalla croce* was filmed north of Rome in the summer and fall of 1942. It was screened in the spring of 1943, after the final rout of the Italian Eighth Army, the death of 30,000 Italian soldiers, and the capture of another 54,000. During the Second World War, Rossellini, the director later known as a founder of neorealism and the exemplar of anti-Fascist filmmaking, directed and collaborated on the scripts for three combat films funded by the Italian armed forces, the other two being *La nave Bianca* (Hospital Ship, 1942) and *Una pilota ritorna* (A Pilot Returns, 1942).[43] The last of the trilogy, *L'uomo dalla croce,* set on the Eastern Front in the summer of 1942, presents a bleak, charred world of violence and ideologically fueled war.[44] Asvero Gravelli, the editor of *Gioventù* and *Antieuropa* and a committed anti-Communist ideologue, wrote the script, along with Rossellini and Alberto Consiglio.[45]

L'uomo dalla croce stressed fears of the heresy and apostasy of the Soviet enemy and sounded alarm bells about the eternal damnation that would follow an Allied victory. This film tapped into Italians' deepest and most fundamental fears about the afterlife. As might be expected, it also began by stoking anxiety about the racial otherness of the enemy, linking racial degeneration to atheism. The film tells the story of an Italian tank division operating somewhere on the Eastern Front, which, after a clash with Soviet forces, temporarily retreats.[46] One of the wounded cannot be moved, and the chaplain (Alberto Tavazzi) remains behind to nurse him. The following day, the Russians capture the chaplain and the wounded soldier and bring them to the local political commissar.

Rossellini's Communist enemy initially coincides with official characterizations and was scripted to incite terror in the audience. When the chaplain and the wounded soldier he protects are interrogated by a political commissar in a schoolhouse adorned with a painting of Stalin and a drawing of a naked woman (simultaneous markers of political and moral deviance), the commissar taunts the chaplain. The filthy, unshaven, and bandaged commissar grabs the chaplain's crucifix and, threatening him, says "he is a sorcerer, a conjurer of the dead, a Catholic witch doctor, and that is his amulet." In response to the dirty and scratching commissar, one of the Soviet soldiers jokes, "Have him exorcise you. Maybe it will cure your eczema." This scene takes up the wartime admonition that the *senza Dio* are hell-bent on the destruction of Catholicism, its flock, and its instruments of faith. By cursing the chaplain's crucifix as an instrument of witchcraft, the Russians declare themselves to be devils and demons fated for eternal damnation.

The commissar is furthermore diseased and a carrier of infection. Clearly the enemy in *L'uomo dalla croce* conforms to the intended official narrative and bears the visual markers of degeneracy, criminality, and racial inferiority. The commissar and the other Russians in the interrogation scene share a physiognomy taken from racist propaganda about Jews and degenerate races: they have broad faces, high foreheads, sunken eyes, and protuberant noses (a similar physiognomy to that used by Ezio Castellucci in his racist drawings). For most of the eight-minute scene, the commissar and the chaplain occupy the same frame, each in profile, highlighting the physical comparison between the bandaged, smoking, and unwashed commissar and the classically proportioned, fine-boned, clean, and well-groomed chaplain.

In the same scene, the commissar's discovery of a Fascist Party card on a captured Italian soldier reveals the enemy's failure to abide by the laws of war and civilization: "For us, you are not a regular soldier. We consider you an agitator, an instigator," reveals the commissar, "thus we have the right to exterminate the enemies of communism." "Unless you would like to recant? Do you want to sign here?" he taunts, like the devil asking for

a man's soul. The soldier refuses and is executed. This exchange demonstrates the crusade character of the war: it tells the audience at home that surrender is not an option. Finally, the abandoned and barren landscape that makes up the film's background also signals racial degeneration and generalized anxiety. The undeveloped or "primitive" landscape, as Barbara Spackman has written, evokes "the discursive naturalization of the racial other, who is frequently associated with…a territory to be conquered and cultivated." The Italian forces, shown moving aggressively forward with their heavy firepower, appear in this context as the more civilized, offering a precondition for what she terms a "form of mastery."[47]

While *L'uomo dalla croce*'s first half terrorizes the audience about the Soviet enemy, its demonic atheism, its denigration of the Church, the family, and women, the second half of the film offers the possibility of salvation. During the interrogation, an Italian air raid creates chaos in the Russian lines, giving the chaplain and his charge a chance to flee to one of the burning village's huts. Here he encounters pious women and children refugees from the steppes. As the battle rages, a group of Russians, led by another political commissar, Serge, and his soldier-lover Irina (Roswitha Schmidt), take refuge with the chaplain, the refugees, and some Italian soldiers. The long night, during which a baby is born and baptized, allows the chaplain to spread the gospel among the enemy. Throughout, the camera shifts from broad, long shots to close-ups inside a hut of rubble and straw—an archaic, timeless interior evocative of the manger in which Christ was born. The Italian soldiers and wounded Russian fugitives pass the night suffering together in a collective that is neither Fascist nor Soviet.

In the film's long night of the mortal soul, during which most of the sacraments of the Church, from baptism to confession to last rites, are given, the chaplain brings the group to salvation. Soon after, Serge, the commissar, is shot by Irina's husband, Ivan. Serge's death allows for Irina's confession and redemption. She excoriates Ivan: "You have killed a political commissar in front of the enemy." The chaplain ministers to her:

> I am not an enemy; I am a man of God, who is father to all men. Even if they are hostile, they are all brothers in his presence. I know that they have made you hate, but you are not lost. The lights don't go out, just because you close your eyes. God will not be lost to you, if you could feel him, as I feel him now in my heart. Then, you would not be dead. Now you are more dead than your Serge. When you have an empty and tired heart out of desperation, all of a sudden it can happen that you feel a sentiment less crude. This is Him, God, who slowly enters your empty and tired heart.

This sermon brings Irina to confess her sins of idolatry and apostasy. She suffered under communism—her mother died; her father remarried

a woman "only three years older" than her; she was forced into marriage with a barbaric man.

Rossellini uses his imagined Eastern Front to bring the audience a night of meditation over the destiny of the human soul, or as a contemporary review described it, Rossellini draws "attention to the most intimate shifts in the human spirit."[48] He transforms the group of Italians, Russians, and pious refugees into a community of salvation in Christ's body. Rossellini's Christian humanism therefore rejects the racial determinism of much Fascist propaganda; the enemy is not predestined to evil but has a soul primed for salvation through suffering. As we have seen, the film's dramatic and emotional center is the Christian community forged from the Russian refugees, Italian and Russian soldiers, and the chaplain trapped overnight in the semidestroyed hut. Here he converts the morally lost Irina and saves the wounded, the women, and the children. But in the gunfire of the Italian advance, he is mortally wounded, along with a Russian officer. As they lie dying, one across the other, they recite the Lord's Prayer together. The chaplain thus dies a martyr during the act of converting the infidel. The blood on the dying chaplain's face connects him to the suffering body of Christ.

Rossellini both reinforced the fears of the home front and constructed a postheroic depiction of war. The pro-Nazi and racist journal *Il Tevere* found Rossellini's view of the war and the character of the chaplain scandalously unpatriotic. "There is no *Patria* in him, there is no Italy. There is simply faith in the universal justice and mercy of God," wrote Giorgio Almirante, later the postwar leader of the neo-Fascist *Movimento Sociale Italiano* (Italian Social Movement). "All of this is undeniably very nice from a purely Christian standpoint," he continued,

> but not from the standpoint of our war film propaganda, which, in my opinion, should not be spreading universalist ideas, but should be stressing our differences with the enemy and intensifying our hatred (sacred and sacrosanct) against the enemy.[49]

Almirante knew, by 1942, that only a profound terror of the enemy had a chance of keeping Italians bound to a lost war.

Fascist wartime propaganda mobilized fear of the enemy to the near exclusion of messages about "why we fight." While modern war propaganda generally puts the fundamental destructive nature of the enemy at its core, it is usually accompanied by explanations of what is being defended. In the Italian Fascist case, by the time of the invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, the regime hoped to rally Italians against a demonic, racially degenerate enemy who was determined to destroy Italian life at the levels of faith and family. According to Mussolini, the anti-Socialist and anti-Communist bloodletting with which Fascism had risen to power in 1922

was to be exceeded by an absolute victory against the Soviet Union twenty years later. The culture produced to engage Italians in the battle reflects its fortunes. At the beginning of Fascism's wars in 1936, *L'assedio dell'Alcazar* proposed a Fascism and a Catholicism of social hierarchy, unity, and military conquest over a ruthless, godless enemy, with fear and celebration of victory in equal parts. By 1943, the year of the regime's greatest defeats, *L'uomo dalla croce* offered Italian audiences a barbaric enemy outside the conventions of morality and humanity who, rather than being defeated on the battlefield, could only be defused through individual conversion. In the end, fact followed fiction. The great crusade against the Bolshevik enemy, guaranteed by Mussolini to be "inevitably victorious" and promised as the racial-ideological culmination of the Fascist political cleansing begun in 1919, ended in epic defeat as the scattered remnant of the Italian military forces in Russia retreated on foot across nearly a thousand frozen miles.

Conclusion

From film and the visual arts to pamphlets and speeches, Fascist propaganda put forward characterizations of its wartime enemy that tapped into the deepest fears of many Italians and reflected their feelings of uncertainty about life's most basic connections. As it became clear that the "anthropological revolution" to change the character of Italians and to forge a nation of "soldier-citizens" had failed, the regime turned to pre-Fascist loyalties and connections to faith and family.[50] Facing waning support and growing resistance, the dictatorship found that terror and anxiety could provide a better cement between it and the population than a defense of Fascism. By stoking fears for the survival of the family, morality, and the Church, the Fascist dictatorship elevated a strategy now all too familiar in the repertoire of the modern state in iterations from democratic to authoritarian.

CHAPTER 7

The Persecuted Body

EVANGELICAL INTERNATIONALISM, ISLAM, AND THE POLITICS OF FEAR

MELANI MCALISTER, GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

> At the end of the second millennium, the Church has once again become a church of martyrs….The witness of Christ borne even to the shedding of blood has become a common inheritance of Catholics, Orthodox, Anglicans, and Protestants.
> —Pope John Paul II, Apostolic Letter, 1994[1]

> And photographs of the victims of war are themselves a species of rhetoric. They reiterate. They simplify. They agitate. They create the illusion of consensus.
> —Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*[2]

The video opens with images of a young Sudanese boy, interviewed in front of a hut. "They wanted me to become a Muslim," he says through a translator. "But I told them I wouldn't. I am a Christian." He looks away as he lifts his shirt and shows his scars for the camera—horrific burns over one side of his thin body. "It was then," a deep male voice-over intones, "that he was thrown on a burning fire." Later, the video explains that in Sudan "a government set on jihad" is persecuting Christians. There is news footage of soldiers, then images of women lying on the ground, their mutilated limbs and open wounds viscerally on view. Bodies are displayed—violated, damaged.

Other scenes in the video tell similar stories of threats, punishment, and stalwart behavior: a Chinese pastor tells of being imprisoned, and he almost—but does not—lift up his shirt to show a scar. A young Indonesian girl, shown close up and weeping, tells of having a knife held to her throat. The narrator translates: "They tried to get me to deny Christ." Then he pronounces: "But she refused to deny her savior."

Each tale is told as a melodrama of steadfastness: "All around the world," the video explains, "Christians are dying for their faith. They could save themselves by denying Christ. But they didn't—and they won't." A graphic of a revolving globe spins out the names of nations that persecute Christians: Sudan, Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, and several others. "These people are not heroes or statistics; they are 'family.'"

The video was made by the US-based Christian evangelical group Voice of the Martyrs (VOM). It is simultaneously a "documentary" and a fund-raising document, circulated in churches and at conferences and available for purchase on the VOM website, where one can also read the latest news about the persecution of Christians or sign up for a monthly newsletter or a weekly e-mail update. In the 1990s, VOM also developed a somewhat surprising élan through its partnership with the Christian hip-hop group "DC Talk." The band, best known for its anthem "Jesus Freaks," joined up with VOM to produce a series of books for teenagers about martyrdom, *Jesus Freaks: Stories of those Who Stood for Jesus*, and *Jesus Freaks: Martyrs*.[3] Not infrequently, the VOM materials quote the church father Tertullian (155–230): "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church."[4]

By the turn of the twenty-first century, a passionate concern with the persecution of Christians united not only conservatives but liberal and moderate evangelicals as well. Christians were being martyred all over the world, they argued, prevented from spreading the Gospel and targeted for their faith. Chronicled in magazines ranging from conservative venues like *World* magazine to the moderately conservative *Christianity Today* or the left-leaning *Sojourners*; described in books and on websites; pictured in fund-raising newsletters and DVDs sold in church basements, "the persecuted body"—the body or church of Christ, and the literal bodies of believers—became an icon of faith and a map for politics.[5]

In this chapter, I make four interrelated arguments. First, I argue that antipersecution discourse, while not a new phenomenon, took on new forms and an enhanced social-emotional power for evangelicals starting in the early 1990s. The reasons for this emergence are complex, as I discuss below, but its impact is profound. Most obviously, it led American evangelicals to join with others in pushing for the International Religious Freedom Act of 1998, which institutionalized attention to religious freedom in the US foreign policy apparatus.

Second, I find that spectacles of the violated body are central to the discourse of persecution. The antipersecution movement, like any social movement, links disparate individuals through practices and performances that establish coherence and meaning. The display of images and/or the vivid description of violence is not simply informational; it engages both the history of human rights activism and a deeply rooted Christian imagery about the body. The circulation of these images is part of the impetus

for evangelical activism, but the power of the visual is also *activated* by a policymaking process that incites cultural performance.

Third, I examine the ways in which attention to persecution creates a tension for evangelicals between the universalizing language of human rights and a specific commitment to the "persecuted body" of Christ. The sense of particular solidarity with a transnational community of believers enables—and sometimes undermines—an energetic embrace of "human rights" as a political value.

Finally, I argue that the impact of evangelicals' intense attention to Christian persecution is not easy to categorize as either liberal or conservative: it is both, in ways that often intertwine. At one level, it is deeply conservative, in that it engages an ongoing hostility toward non-Christian religions, particularly Islam. Islam is presented as the cause of a great deal of concrete persecution and as a danger to Christians everywhere. This image of Islam plays out particularly clearly in the context of evangelicals' stance on US policy toward Sudan.

The discourse of persecution is also liberalizing, however, in that it has helped make American evangelicals far more cognizant of the world beyond their borders. Evangelicals from Africa, Asia, and elsewhere are deeply concerned about religious persecution, but they are also raising the awareness of their more privileged fellow believers about the economic realities, medical crises, and political instability that frame their daily lives. The response of American evangelicals has been paradoxical. On the one hand, US believers have produced elements of the old missionary condescension that posited non-Westerners as abject, in need of "saving" by American Christians. On the other, persecution discourse posits Christians in Africa, Asia, and elsewhere as exemplary, embodying an idealized form of Christian practice. Both elements are apparent in the emerging evangelical involvement in human rights activism, HIV-AIDS work, and struggles for global economic justice.

Fear is part of this story, albeit in complex ways. Many theorists have described how fear of the "other" can bring a group together in spite of internal divisions like race or class, and certainly fear of persecution and fear of Islam work together to construct evangelicals as a global community of embattled believers. This fear is genuine. Evangelicals in the United States are connected to their global community—through media, international institutions, travel, and friendship—and news of wars or arrests abroad is reason for fear and prayers at home. At the same time, the fear is mixed with confidence, even aggression, in the face of the dangers evangelicals believe their community to be facing. Persecution is a danger but also an opportunity to speak about faith and the bravery it inspires.

As Bauman points out, however, fear is liquid; it does not stay in its containers.[6] Fear can produce new kinds of identification and solidarity

that may cross the very boundaries it originally fortified. In the case of US evangelicals, fear, and the determination it engenders, have produced bounded communities and universal human rights commitments simultaneously. Thus, this study of the politics of fear is an analysis of the historical transformation of a religious community; the demands of a transnational identity (Christianity) upon the US state; the construction of moral geographies that center a conflict with Islam; and the possibility, perhaps, of human solidarities that transcend all of these.

The International Religious Freedom Act

In 1998, the US Congress passed the International Religious Freedom Act (IRFA), a signature bill that was the result of several years of intense political activism. The coalition that fought for the bill had been led by evangelicals, but it included Jews, Catholics, and Tibetan Buddhists. The bill requires that the United States produce every year a list of "countries of concern" that are guilty of violating religious freedoms. The president is then required to choose from a set of graduated sanctions to impose on each of those countries (ranging from expressions of concern to cutting off trade). If s/he chooses, the president can waive the sanctions for reasons of national security.[7]

The IRFA also created the Office of International Religious Freedom in the State Department and established the post of ambassador for religious freedom. It also created a separate, semiofficial body, the US Commission on International Religious Freedom, which, as we will see, had the task of monitoring the State Department and the White House to make sure that "political necessity" did not trump the moral necessity of fighting religious persecution.

The not-so-quiet backdrop to this legislation, as everyone understood, was the US relationship with three countries in particular. First was Sudan, which for many antipersecution activists was the primary concern. As I discuss below, the twenty-year-long civil war in southern Sudan had pitted the Islamist government in Khartoum against the non-Muslim populations of the south, a significant number of whom were Christian. To what degree Sudan's civil war could be described as a religious war was a matter of great debate, but for at least some of the activists Sudan's government was the greatest example of the Islamist threat to Christians everywhere. Second was China. There, the official Christian church was large and growing, but many Chinese believers worshipped at illegal "underground" churches. They were vulnerable to harassment and arrest. In addition, China occupied Tibet and was systematically oppressing Tibetan Buddhists. Both conservative evangelicals and some Hollywood liberals

were interested in China, but, in very different ways, so was American business. The conflicts between these various forms of interest have played our repeatedly in US China policy. The third country was Saudi Arabia, which was surely guilty of religious persecution and which, just as surely, was not about to be placed under US sanctions. The antipersecution movement was strong, but it was not going to trump the politics of oil or the US Central Command.

Thus there were serious questions about the International Religious Freedom Act. Of course, no one in Washington or elsewhere was interested in declaring themselves to be *in favor* of religious persecution, of Christians or anyone else. And there was a fairly broad consensus that the issue itself was quite real. "To suggest that the persecution of Christians is not a serious problem is nonsense," William F. Schulz, the executive director of Amnesty International USA told a reporter.[8] But whatever the realities of religious persecution, the remedies were hotly debated. As the bill made its way through Congress, traditional human rights groups, liberal Protestants, and Muslim organizations all had concerns. The Clinton administration opposed it, and the free-trade lobby fought it hard. With all that opposition, it was more than a little surprising that the IRFA made it into law. It did so in large part because of the on-the-ground power of the antipersecution movement. Although the signing of this legislation was neither the beginning nor the end of the story of US activism on religious persecution, it was a high point for evangelical activists who wanted to make global issues central to their community. Their success was due in part to good organizing, but it was also the product of a new kind of "common sense" emerging in the evangelical public sphere, where for more than thirty years religious persecution had been the stuff of novels, memoirs, movies, and magazine articles.

Martyrs and Memory in the Cold War

The memory of persecution and suffering is part of the DNA of Christian culture-making. In her remarkable book *Martyrdom and Memory*, Elizabeth Castelli has traced the history of the veneration of martyrs in early Christianity. For centuries after Christ, and in ways that varied in different historical moments, believers consumed stories and images of martyrs. For Castelli, the actual historical reality of martyrs' lives is far less important than the images, statues, relics, and sermons that served as sources of identification and rhetorics of self. Martyrdom, Castelli insists, is "rhetorically constituted and discursively sustained."[9]

Simultaneously engaging fear and bravery, suffering and faith, spectacle and catechism, early persecution stories were Christian education. Saint

Augustine told his readers that when they went to church and heard those stories, they were to engage them not in terms of their awfulness (which would, nonetheless, be recounted in great detail) but in terms of the "completeness of faith" they represented.

> A splendid spectacle offered to the eyes of the mind is a spirit whole and unbroken while the body is torn to pieces. That is what you people gaze on with pleasure when the accounts of such things are read in church. After all, if you didn't form some sort of picture of what happened, it would mean you weren't listening at all.[10]

Through much of the twentieth century, the concept of Christian martyrdom per se had little purchase for evangelicals, who saw in the veneration of martyrs a suspect Catholic practice tainted by excesses of emotion and even idolatry. Even so, accounts of martyrdom did have a traditional place in Protestant culture. The first English edition of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* was in 1563. The woodcut images and (in the second edition) nearly two thousand pages of text primarily recounted the suffering of Protestants at the hands of Catholics. After Foxe's death, the book was reprinted many times, trimmed and updated, eventually traveling with the Puritans to the New World. The iconography of martyrdom was evoked, too, in the spectacles of suffering that were such an important part of antislavery politics in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century United States and Britain, where the bodies of slaves were displayed as abolitionist rhetoric.

The "classic evangelical missionary martyr narrative," as Kathryn Long calls it, included the stories of missionaries who had gone to Africa or India or elsewhere and died in the service of the cause.[11] One universal of US martyr stories was the determinedly optimistic logic of evangelical triumphalism. The deaths were admirable, but the stories required a victorious ending. This emotionally rich and physically vivid pattern of description did not disappear from US martyr stories, but by the early twentieth century, accounts were moving toward more circumspect formulations. As Catholic immigration to the United States increased in the later part of the nineteenth century, Protestants begin to separate themselves more fully from what they saw as Catholic practices of saint worship, tainted by excesses of emotion and even idolatry. Certainly the vividly excruciating tales so beloved by earlier generations became less common, even as missionary bravery and sacrifice remained central to evangelical narratives.

In 1956, however, the death of five American missionaries in Ecuador galvanized evangelicals and transformed their investments in the rhetoric of martyrdom. The group of young men had traveled, two of them with their wives, to a remote jungle area to witness to the Waoroni tribe (then known as the Auca Indians). Shortly after their arrival, having made only tentative contact with the Waoroni—who, in these accounts, were

always described as "warlike"—the five men of the group were speared and hacked to death. In 1957, Elizabeth Elliott, the wife of one of the men who died, published *Through Gates of Splendor*, which recounted in hagiographic terms the young men's commitment to reaching the unreached, and their expressed willingness to die, if necessary, in the process.[12] The book was excerpted in *Reader's Digest*, and the "Auca martyrs" and their wives were chronicled multiple times in *Life*.[13] (Elizabeth Elliott went on to become a well-known author of evangelical books on sexual morality, including the (in)famous 1984 advice manual *Passion and Purity: Bringing your Love Life under God's Control*.) Looking back decades later at the Auca events, *Christianity Today* recalled: "The martyrs' names—Nate Saint, Jim Elliot, Pete Fleming, Ed McCully, and Roger Youderian—and their sacrifice galvanized a whole generation," inspiring future missionaries and average churchgoers alike.[14] In 2006, the story would become the basis of a book and feature film, *End of the Spear*, narrated from the perspective of Nate Saint's son. The inspiration offered by such stories was emotionally complex. Believers were invited to be fearful but also determined, angry but also forgiving, admiring of the martyrs but appalled by their suffering.

In the postwar period, American Christians were also called to attend to a different kind of persecution—not the exceptional dramas of missionaries abroad, but the quotidian dramas of the "suffering church" under communism. Starting in the 1940s, with the communist takeover of China, and into the 1960s, as tensions with the Soviet Union continued, news accounts in the popular press, individual memoirs, and the occasional congressional hearing all combined to create a consistent drumbeat about "persecution" as a problem. The House Un-American Activities Committee, for example, held a "consultation" with ministers from China and Korea in 1959. Their testimony was printed—and then reprinted—as a document for public distribution.[15]

In the late 1960s, the most famous "living martyr" in the United States was a Romanian Jewish convert and minister, Richard Wurmbrand. Wurmbrand had been imprisoned twice by the Romanian government for his activities as an "underground" minister before he finally escaped to the West in 1964. In 1966, Wurmbrand offered remarkable testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee's hearing. Standing before the senators and the cameras, Wurmbrand stripped to the waist and turned to display his deeply scarred back. "My body represents Romania, my country, which has been tortured to a point that it can no longer weep," Wurmbrand said. "These marks on my body are my credentials."[16]

Wurmbrand's dramatic speech and his subsequent writing—he went on to publish more than a dozen books on his experiences in Romania and the threat posed by communism—exemplified the complex dialectic of visibility and invisibility in the discourse of persecution. His best-known

book, *Tortured for Christ*, was first printed in 1967 and eventually became a global Christian best seller. In that short autobiographical account, Wurmbrand describes in detail how he and his fellow prisoners in Romania were beaten, forced to stand in one position, and placed in refrigerator cells. The images are vivid; their bodies are wracked, fractured, and perforated. Yet Wurmbrand also insists: "Other things simply cannot be told. My heart would fail if I should tell them again and again. They are too terrible and obscene to be put into writing."[17]

In *The Body in Pain*, Elaine Scarry argues that it is inherently difficult to describe bodily pain or injury. Pain is interior, elusive to measurement, hard to index to any kind of visibility. The "sentient fact of physical pain is…so nearly impossible to express, so flatly invisible," she says, that it becomes very easy to ignore, over and over, the suffering of others.[18] The dilemma of antipersecution discourse is that, in order to become politically relevant, suffering must be made visible. The persecution must be described, the body inscribed. Pain may be silent and silencing, as Scarry argues—and Wurmbrand agrees: there are things I cannot describe, he says; there are things too obscene to be put into writing. And yet, as Augustine said, the audience must form a picture of the terrible things that happened. Representing the body in pain is a necessary condition of the politics of suffering.

In 1967, Wurmbrand founded Jesus to the Communist World, which would later become Voice of the Martyrs. In the 1980s and '90s, VOM, working out of its home base in Bartlesville, Oklahoma, would become a key player in the larger movement against the persecution of Christians. Its video on "the persecuted family" was produced in the context of its role in this emergent phenomenon. Another, similar organization, Open Doors, was founded by "Brother Andrew" Van der Bijl, a Dutch pastor who made his name smuggling Bibles into the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. He published his best-selling memoir, *God's Smuggler*, also in 1967 and was, as I describe at the end of this essay, an inspiration to a new generation of activists in the 1990s and beyond.[19] Both organizations, and a host of others, took up the task of representing suffering Christians. Starting in the late 1980s, they married the iconography of Christian martyrdom to the language of universal rights.

Rights Talk

In the 1960s and '70s, "human rights" gained a new kind of currency. In 1961, with the founding of Amnesty International, the 1948 UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights gained activist legs. At first, the language of "human rights" per se had its greatest appeal on the political left: in

1967, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) had redesignated itself from a "civil rights" to a "human rights" organization, while feminist activists began talking about the rights of women in the context of global human rights more generally.[20] Then, in 1974, Alexander Solzhenitsyn published the extraordinary *Gulag Archipelago*, which used the language of "human rights" to frame oppression in the Soviet Union as an international issue—one that was quickly taken up by conservatives and anticommunist moderates in the United States. The Helsinki Final Act of 1975, which asserted both individual rights to freedom of belief and the collective right of peoples to self-determination, was widely cited by Eastern European liberation movements.[21] In the U.S. presidential elections of 1976, Jimmy Carter made the promotion of human rights globally one of his stated policy goals.

For Americans, one of the most important human rights issues of the 1970s was the struggle on behalf of Soviet Jews for the right to emigrate. Jews in the Soviet Union were facing extreme discrimination, and activists who spoke out received harsh prison sentences. U.S. Jews led a campaign, working in coalition with Catholics, evangelicals, and Cold Warriors, for congressional action. In 1974 Congress passed the Jackson-Vanik amendment to the Trade Act of that year, which instituted trade sanctions against "non-market countries" that restricted emigration (that is, the Soviet Union).[22] The Nixon White House had opposed the amendment; Kissinger in particular thought Jackson-Vanik was the kind of public posturing that made it far more difficult to exert pressure via "quiet diplomacy."

The interest of evangelicals in the issue of Soviet Jewry derived from a combination of their traditional conservatism in the Cold War and their own increasing attention to religious persecution. (Four years after Jackson-Vanik, a group of Pentecostals—the Siberian Seven—pushed their way into the US embassy in Moscow, seeking the chance to emigrate to the United States. Their dramatic protests, eventually including a hunger strike by two of the women, elicited a great deal of public concern in the United States. The group lived in the embassy for five years before eventually being allowed to emigrate to Israel. From there, they eventually moved to the United States.)[23] In the 1990s, Christian activists would repeatedly cite Jackson-Vanik as their model for legislative success with the International Religious Freedom bill. This second generation of antipersecution activists would also point to Jackson-Vanik as proof that they were justified in focusing on the persecution of *Christians*, since Jackson-Vanik, although it was framed in general terms, was designed specifically to protect Jews. Thus the Jackson-Vanik amendment set the stage for two debates that would engage evangelical activists off and on for the next thirty years. First was the question of whether they should focus on championing "Christian

rights" specifically or "human rights" more generally. Second, evangelicals debated whether the compromises of "quiet diplomacy" could provide a better route to change than visible, morally sanctified public action.

Praying Locally

In the 1970s and '80s, evangelical media were shot through with stories of Christians living under "atheistic communism" in the Soviet bloc and China. This did not mean that other parts of the world were invisible—*Christianity Today* had, from its founding, used its World Scene section to update readers on events in Latin America, the Middle East, and Asia. Islam was not a particular focus in this period, even after the 1979 Iran hostage crisis. In the 1980s, *Christianity Today* gave more attention to Latin America than to the Middle East. It was communism that mattered most, and it was local Christians living under communism (rather than, say, Western missionaries among the natives) who provided the dramatis personae of late Cold War evangelical internationalism.

One remarkable 1982 essay in *Christianity Today*, by a pastor's wife in Richmond, Virginia, gave a sense of how those stories of persecution were integrated into one local church community. Sara Killian Cooke wrote that she was part of a women's prayer group that gathered each week to pray for "Christ's suffering church." They pooled information about the world, she said, from evangelical periodicals, news releases, and letters from missionaries and pastors. Cooke went on to list specific prayers her group offered, and her list was a perfectly calibrated testament to the impact of the evangelical focus on communism: prayer for pastors in registered churches and those in unregistered churches, for those declared unstable and placed in psychiatric wards, for those who are brainwashed, and for those who had "children taken from believing parents and placed in communes."

Cooke gave her readers an example of the kind of prayer her group might offer:

> Father, for your servants about to be martyred, we ask a Christ-glorifying witness like Stephen's. For those undergoing torture, we ask power not to deny your name.…Knowing our weakness, we pray for those who have fallen, those who mourn false confessions.…For those alone in prison, we ask you to send the Holy Comforter.…Savior, send to your suffering body divine intervention.

This rather extraordinary prayer goes on, quivering with sentimental calling: "*may holy angels minister*"; may God "*heal their broken hearts*."[24]

Cooke's prayer is remarkable, not only for its vivid imagery and its near-perfect indexing of Cold War antipersecution literature, but also as a marker of a subtle change in the public representations of persecution. Throughout the 1960s and '70s, persecution was most often represented as something that specific reprehensible regimes *did*, for their own (atheistic) reasons, to followers of Jesus. Beginning in the 1980s, there began to emerge a sense of persecution as something that *was*; it existed all over the world, wherever there were believers, because suffering was a significant part of what being Christian meant. In the Bible, followers of Jesus are repeatedly assured that they must suffer for his sake.[25] If that was less true for Americans than for others, such might not always be the case: Americans have been insulated from the suffering experienced by persecuted Christians, Cooke wrote, but "someday we might also be forced to share their trial."[26]

Of course, it is impossible to say that Sara Killian Cooke's essay is real proof of what "average" believers took away from the persecution literature that swirled through the evangelical public sphere during the Cold War. We do know, however, that the concerns reached beyond the rhetoric of evangelical elites, in that they formed the basis of grassroots activism (in Voice of the Martyrs and Open Doors) and reached, in some cases, into church prayer meetings. And we know, too, that the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and China were the emotional and political focus of the literature on persecuted Christians. At least, that was the case until 1989, when evangelicals, like most Americans, had their previous moral geographies torn asunder.

The Emergence of a Movement: 1989 and the 10/40 Window

The year 1989 ushered in several slowly evolving and interrelated changes. The first was, of course, the beginning of the end of the Cold War, which would over time bring a marked change for Christians in Eastern Europe and the soon-to-be-former Soviet Union. Religious freedom did not come immediately and never came completely in the former Soviet bloc, but with the destruction of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and then the breakup of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s, the situation changed quickly. Christians from all around the world began pouring into Eastern Europe as missionaries; the narratives were of liberation and victory.[27]

The geopolitical changes that put an end to the bipolar world also demanded new ways of thinking about US global power—for evangelicals no less than for other Americans. With the intensification of globalization in the post–Cold War era (or, rather, with the intensification of that conglomeration of intersecting changes that has variously been engaged through

terms like postmodernity, globalization, and neoliberalism), evangelical Christians began to take advantage of new opportunities for connection and community building across national boundaries.

Evangelicals in the global South were rapidly increasing in number—conversions and demographic increase in Latin America and Africa, in particular, were creating millions of new believers. And new technologies and the increasing ease of travel made it possible for those Christians to link more easily with Christians in the United States and Europe. The first Lausanne Congress for World Evangelization, held in 1974, had brought together several thousand delegates from around the world. There, speakers from Latin America and Asia and the Middle East had spoken forcefully from the platform, taking their place as equals, not as missionary objects. In 1989, the Second International Conference on World Evangelization met in Manila, and 4,300 evangelicals from 173 countries once again constructed for each other a model of border-crossing Christian community. As in 1974, missionary work was a shared, animating concern for delegates, wherever they hailed from. There was a "millennium bug" in the air, one participant said, as evangelicals began to map their own global dreams of reaching "all the world" for Christ by the year 2000.[28]

Argentine evangelist Luis Bush shared that missionary mind-set, but he also saw a need for evangelicals at the end of the century to center their attention on Islam. At Manila, Bush gave a rousing speech that called for evangelicals to focus their missionary work on the "10/40 Window." The "window," he said, is that area between 10 degrees and 40 degrees north of the equator, which encompasses the Middle East and much of Asia—an area where most of the world's "unreached people groups" lived. It is there, Bush said, that Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism "enslave" the majority of their inhabitants—"billions of spiritually impoverished souls." Of these, Islam was clearly the biggest threat. From its center in the 10/40 Window, Islam was "reaching out energetically to all parts of the globe." In similar strategy," Bush said, "we must penetrate the heart of Islam with the liberating truth of the gospel."[29] Since the 1979 Iranian revolution, "political Islam" had been a subject of increasing discussion, in the United States and elsewhere, as a rising political force. Now it was also a target for evangelicals, who resolved to reach into its heart.

The 10/40 Window was appealing not only as a concept but also as a marketing tool. One could buy 10/40 Window calendars (featuring a different "people group" each month) or maps, movies, and newsletters. Officially, the 10/40 Window was a map of (missionary) opportunity; in practice, it often became a signifier of the "enslaved," unreached nations of the world, many of which would also be marked as persecutors of Christians.

The 10/40 Window mapped the passions of an evangelizing church, reaching outward from Latin America and Africa as well as Europe and the

United States. But it also exemplified how mission outreach meshed with defensive solidarities. There were other areas where Christians might be under threat, but the window marked both the greatest opportunity and the zone of crisis, the most visible scars on the body. The Christians there were the synecdoche of modern, suffering faith.

Does Human Rights Need God? Do the Godly Need Human Rights?

In 1992, *Christianity Today* produced a special issue on the "persecuted Church," implicitly integrating the diverse Christian experiences in Latin America, the former Soviet Union, the Middle East, and China. The issue included many Amnesty International–style images: a prisoner, clearly beaten, recovering in a hospital; a woman and child, standing alone in front of a house where the murdered husband no longer lives. The headlines are visceral: "They Tortured my Friend"; "The Bloody Seed of Chinese Persecution"; and "They Shoot Christians Don't They?" Two things were particularly striking in this issue: first, the productive power of fear; and second, the determined yet wary embrace of "human rights" as a universalizing commitment that was at once empowering and deeply problematic for evangelicals.

One personal account exemplified the multilayered way that fear functioned in these essays. In "They Tortured my Friend," Tim Stafford, a Christian worker in Kenya, described his relationship with several Kenyan fellow believers, all of whom were in danger as a result of their faith. One of the men, Kimani wa Nyoike, was a member of parliament who was in prison for a year, during which time he lost seventy pounds. Another was an editor of a Christian youth magazine until he was imprisoned briefly and then fired. The third, whom Stafford knew more distantly, was an Anglican bishop who spoke out against political corruption and was ultimately killed under suspicious circumstances.

Stafford's meditation on the fact that "they tortured my friend" was honest about his own distance from the dangers that his friends experienced: "The fear of reprisal is just not easy for an American, born and raised in freedom, to understand." But Stafford recounted that after his time in Kenya he returned to the United States sobered—knowing someone personally who had suffered in prison, he was now better able to understand fear. "I found that the term 'human rights' took on new meaning. It had acquired a human face."[30]

With that comment, Stafford entered into a larger set of questions that structured *Christianity Today*'s special issue: how and when should evangelicals embrace the language of "human rights"? The impetus was obviously there, but evangelicals also harbored doubts. Some evangelicals

saw the action of claiming "rights" as "an unlovely modern habit" that placed the self, rather than God, at the center of moral discourse. In 1992 that largely secular moral discourse was for many Americans playing a liberalizing function, opening up their thinking on gay rights, multiculturalism, and so on. Evangelical conservatives understood this, and not infrequently observed that "rights talk" had emerged exactly as the "culture wars" heated up. Wasn't that liberal framework the one that "rights" belonged to?

But evangelicals also recognized that, however one defined them, "rights" were a political issue. The process of either claiming one's own or protecting the rights of others would inevitably involve some kind of activism. Evangelicals worried—particularly as the early 1990s backlash against the Moral Majority was fracturing an earlier political certainty—that, whether or not it was a good idea in theory to support human rights, maybe it was time to step back from politics, to consider a renewed focus on evangelism and personal salvation.[31] Thus, while evangelicals generally agreed that in principle it was fine to fight for the right of Christians to religious freedom, they were uncertain about what it would mean, ultimately, for evangelicals to (1) get overly involved in this kind of political agenda; or (2) start talking of "human rights" *tout court*. In a July 1992 article titled, aptly, "Who's Afraid of Human Rights?" one author acknowledged such worries but quickly dismissed them: "Christians miss the point if they see human rights as a concern only of the political Left."[32]

In fact, *Christianity Today* clearly considered its 1992 special issue, in which this question was posed, a clarion call, pushing evangelicals to go beyond their Cold War focus on religious persecution under communism. Carl Henry, an evangelical intellectual and the magazine's former editor, insisted that Christians had been too narrowly focused on their own rights, leading others outside the community to conclude "that evangelicals are interested only in defending their issues, not in a broad-based commitment to liberties for all."[33] But that broader commitment, *Christianity Today* said, is exactly what evangelicals should have. Reflecting on his experience in Kenya, Stafford argued that, in the face of oppression and evil, "the strongest weapon most people have is this thin tissue of language—'rights' language, which asserts a moral consensus." That consensus might not stop evil, but it is the first and best defense. And it will not be enough for evangelicals to focus only on the rights of fellow believers; they must care about human rights beyond the merely religious context, Stafford argued, since "evil operates in a much broader context" as well.[34]

Several years later, writing in the anthology *Does Human Rights Need God?* Max Stackhouse, the internationally regarded, theologically conservative professor at Princeton Theological Seminary, would argue that, for Christians, human rights and God must be inseparable. Belief in

God—specifically a Christian view of God—requires a commitment to human rights. But this also works in the reverse, Stackhouse claimed; a commitment to human rights cannot survive without a religious foundation: "without the impetus of theological insight, human rights concepts would not have come to their current widespread recognition, and…they are likely to fade over time if they are not anchored in a universal, context-transcending, metaphysical reality."[35] However, Stackhouse insisted that religions were not all equal on this point. He argued—as antipersecution activists would also argue—that history showed that Christianity was more likely than other forms of belief to encourage religious freedom. Those parts of the world where Christianity had been most influential were "the safest havens for non-established and non-majoritarian religions."[36] Here, Stackhouse was making an argument that other conservative Christians had made, most notably Frances Schaeffer, the evangelical thinker who had become something of a hero of the "new" evangelical movements of the late 1990s and onward. Their position was that the Enlightenment thinkers only *thought* they had moved away from the necessity of a belief in God; in practice, no coherent vision of human equality could be truly secular: you could only believe people were inherently equal if you believed that they were made that way in God's plan.[37]

This intellectual argument about the dangers of "other religions" to human rights was, in various forms, crucial to the increased fear of Islam among evangelicals. In the same 1992 issue of *Christianity Today*, Diane Knippers, executive vice president of the Institute for Religion and Democracy, a deeply conservative Washington think tank, insisted that Christians should not let down their guard against religious persecution. Yes, Marxism, "the twentieth century's scourge on religion," was being rooted out of Europe (although communist countries like China, Vietnam, and North Korea were still engaged in "virulent prejudice"). But the emerging threat "looming on the religious-freedom horizon" was Islam.

Unlike communism, which had attempted to dispel all religion, Knippers said, Islam feeds on "religious zealotry." For Knippers, the fact that "Islam" was neither a place nor a form of government was not apparently a problem; her point was to create a sense that Islam per se was a danger. Reciting the Orientalist logic of scholars like Bernard Lewis, she commented that Islam was "inextricably bound with the political realm" and that the heart of Islam was *shariʿa* law. Under *shariʿa*, state-sponsored religious persecution was likely, and this not infrequently led to terrorism and talk of jihad (a term that, in 1992, still needed italics and a definition). Knippers was careful to note that there were "exceptions" to her generalizations about Islam, but her intervention worked primarily to highlight a certain emergent moral geography. Without mentioning the 10/40 Window (which would have been very well known to *Christianity Today*

readers), she invoked its logic and its interests: after the great divisions of the Cold War had ended, there would still be parts of the world that must be mapped in red.

Prayer and Politics

In 1995, Michael Horowitz galvanized the attention of evangelical elites with an editorial in the *Wall Street Journal* that took aim at Islamic countries for persecuting their Christian minorities. He listed atrocities committed by Muslims against Christians in Ethiopia, Pakistan, Sudan, Egypt, and Iran. Certainly, the stories were horrific. Some were widely known incidents: three Iranian pastors killed in 1994; the routine abduction of children in South Sudan. Other examples seemed pulled from the less-documented folklore of the emerging movement: a pastor in Ethiopia whose eyes were put out by local Muslim officials; Christian students in Egypt "routinely" beaten and called "devils" by their classmates. But the overall argument was that Christians had too long stood by, while "in a growing number of other countries, the rise of Islamic fundamentalism has effectively criminalized the practice of Christianity."[38] Horowitz is not Christian; he is Jewish. But this only strengthened his position; this was not, presumably, self-interest talking. Both Christians and Jews were morally obligated to respond, Horowitz said, by challenging immigration and asylum policies within the United States and calling for changes in US foreign policy toward guilty governments. Over the course of the late 1990s, Horowitz was celebrated by leading evangelicals like Charles Colson and Michael Cromartie and profiled in several national papers for his role in galvanizing a "sleeping church" to its own issues.[39]

Horowitz felt, and others agreed, that the time had come to push for some kind of legislation that would force the United States to take specific actions to respond to the persecution of Christians. Over the next two years, several key events, both cultural and political, signaled the emergence of an evangelical constituency ready to make persecution a priority. First, the National Association of Evangelicals held a conference on the persecution of Christians on January 23, 1996. There the group produced a "Statement of Conscience on Worldwide Religious Persecution." The statement was unremarkable—it simply repeated much of what activists and Christian publications had been saying for several years—but it did highlight evangelicals' dual focus on communism and Islam. It also made clear that the antipersecution concerns were creating an unusual link between Catholics and evangelicals, who had generally tended to view each other with wariness, despite shared activism against abortion

in the 1980s.[40] "In many countries…[e]vangelical Protestants and Catholics have become special targets of terror initiated by authorities who feel threatened by Christian faith and worship," the statement said. No longer (only) competing for adherents, the two groups were united through their common status as victims.

The second major marker of the movement was the creation of the International Day of Prayer for the Persecuted Church. Started in 1996, with the support of activists like Horowitz, it became an extraordinarily successful annual event. The first year, five thousand churches participated. In 1997, organizers claimed that seventy thousand churches had received materials (including all forty thousand member churches of the Southern Baptist Convention). The International Day of Prayer was not harnessed specifically to the legislative activism for IRFA (despite the hopes of some activists), but it did a great deal to raise awareness and to help create a "common sense" about the ubiquity of persecution.[41]

The third indicator of the movement's strength was simply its ability to get itself heard, and heard loudly, on Capitol Hill. Although the specifics of the religious freedom bill would be hotly debated, as I discuss below, the run-up to the legislative action included a flood of information about persecution, much of it aimed specifically at the policy world. In 1997 Nina Shea, director of the Puebla Program at Freedom House, published an activist manifesto, *In the Lion's Den: Persecuted Christians and What the Western Church Can Do About It*. And Paul Marshall, also at Freedom House, produced the more detailed and scholarly study with an equally sensationalist title *Their Blood Cries Out*. These two books became for the persecution movement what Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth* had been to a rather different group of activists in the 1960s—angry, righteous documents of suffering that were carried around from meeting to meeting. Shea's and Marshall's books were quoted and requoted; they became the source of numbers, stories, examples, and, most crucially, frameworks.

The two books served slightly different audiences: Shea's contribution was short, lurid, and lightly documented, essentially a compilation of photos and prisoner stories from groups like Voice of the Martyrs and Christian Solidarity International. Timed specifically to push for the IRFA, it repeated the script that was now standard: for Christians, there were two zones of global concern, Islamic countries and the still extant communist world (the frequently repeated phrase was "the communist remnant"). Marshall's book was more expansive; he focused quite extensively on the dangers of Islam but also discussed everything from the status of evangelicals in Russia to the "forgotten outcasts" in India, Burma, and other countries. (Marshall's book was also the original source of what would become the all-but-official numbers used by activists: 200 million Christians live in countries where Christians are persecuted; another 400 million live in

situations of "non-trivial" limits on their religious freedom.) But Marshall did not focus just on persecutors; he also took aim at American Christians. He attacked Protestant liberals for tiptoeing around the issues, especially regarding China and Islam; liberals were so interested in "global peace," he said, that they failed to speak the truth about events on the ground. But Marshall strongly criticized evangelicals as well—for their complacency, relative ignorance about the rest of the world, excessive nationalism, and over overinvestment in end-time prophecy. "Concern with American families, American values, and American morality—eclipses a sense of worldwide Christian presence."[42] It was time, he argued, for American Christians to look beyond their picket fences and start doing something. Of course, what Marshall well knew was that something, namely, the fight over the International Religious Freedom Act, was already well underway.

Activism and Debate on the IRFA

Evangelicals were far from unified in their views on IRFA. As we've seen, work on "human rights" was increasing, but what that meant for defending persecuted Christians was still far from clear. In fact, Alan Hertzke, who has written a useful but excessively hagiographic account of the Washington lobbying of the antipersecution movement, recounts that some evangelical leaders who attended a 1996 strategy meeting convened by Freedom House said they weren't particularly interested in political involvement. What evangelicals did best, they said, was praying for the persecuted and feeling inspired by them—and that was the limit of what they *should* do. For these nonactivists, the concerns were twofold. The first was pragmatic; drafts of the legislation included proposals to ease asylum provisions for people facing religious persecution. That left some leaders worried about the effect on churches in the global South. In Middle Eastern countries, in particular, churches might be "emptied out," thus undoing "the labor of Christian missionaries and martyrs over centuries."[43] A related issue was more directly theological: if "the blood of the Christians is the seed of the church," then the suffering of believers can lead to conversions and greater faith. Persecution might be part of God's plan. The Voice of the Martyrs fund-raising video discussed earlier had implicitly made a similar point: standing with our brothers and sisters who are persecuted, the video said, "we can be confident that their suffering is prelude to coming revival."[44]

Starting in 1996, in anticipation of the International Religious Freedom bill (there were different versions in the House and Senate), Congress held multiple and sometimes competing hearings on religious persecution. The series began when Republican congressmen Chris Smith of New Jersey, chair of the Subcommittee on International Operations and Human

Rights of the House International Relations Committee, called witnesses to discuss "religious freedom and the persecution of Christians." Like many congressional hearings, these were designed as a performance—to display the suffering of Christians, to justify the focus of that suffering, and to bring the persecution stories of Christians from the global South into the Capitol. The hearings were criticized by liberal Protestant and other human rights groups who were concerned about "a questionable selectivity of participants," almost all of whom represented conservative Christian organizations.[45] Over the next two years, the House and Senate together would hold five more hearings on the issue of persecution and the legislation associated with it.

Two competing versions of the bill, Wolf-Specter in the House and Nickels-Lieberman in the Senate, wound their way through Congress. Both were controversial, but Wolf-Specter was generally understood to be the more aggressive of the two. It defined religious persecution more narrowly, but it insisted on strong, automatic sanctions for countries found to be engaged in such persecution.

Concerns about the legislation came from different quarters. First were broadly liberal organizations, including traditional human rights groups like Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International, as well as some liberal mainline Protestant denominations. They thought Wolf-Specter was too blunt an instrument and too confrontational. The bill, they suspected, was not really designed to protect religious freedom so much as to ensure the performative assertion of US commitment to that freedom.[46] Human Rights Watch and others also worried that the participants in the antipersecution movement were uninterested in the larger human rights agenda, that they in fact cared only about Christians. Nina Shea, who was deeply involved in lobbying for Wolf-Specter, dismissed those concerns with the scorn of someone who was certain she was on the winning team. The liberal human rights groups were elitists who simply didn't want to work on behalf of religious people, she told a reporter; besides, they were irrelevant. "No one is paying attention to anything they say or do or write anyway.…I've got the numbers, I've got the endorsements in all the Christian communities. I've got the power. It's our side that is setting the agenda now."[47]

Wolf-Specter was also opposed by the Clinton administration. The administration's strategic arguments were the same as those of the liberal groups—confrontation with offending countries was not always the best path to effect change. (This was the same argument the Nixon White House had leveled against the Jackson-Vanik amendment.) But there was another reason for opposing Wolf-Specter: the bill was designed, quite consciously, to limit the influence of the State Department and to prevent the president—specifically *that* president—from sidestepping demands

for tough action.[48] The bill required that if a country was found guilty of religious persecution, sanctions of some sort must be implemented unless the president actively waived them. The goal was to embarrass a president who tried to sidestep calls for justice. In fact, once the bill was passed, the provision became an issue not just for Clinton; President Bush would also face the ritual of having to "waive" Saudi Arabia every year, and having to eventually struggle with members of his own political base over the issue of sanctions against Sudan.

Finally, the most well-funded opposition to IRFA came from economic conservatives within the Republican Party. The National Foreign Trade Council, the National Association of Manufacturers, and USA Engage, a large coalition of businesses, farmers, and trade unionists, all actively opposed potential limits on trade in general, and worked hard against IRFA in particular. And free-trade senators, particularly Rod Grams of Minnesota, blocked an initial vote on even the more flexible Nickels version of the bill in the Senate.[49] In its snarling commentary on the debate over the bill, *Christianity Today* remarked that the evangelical forces "felt abandoned by otherwise supportive business leaders who put profits ahead of morality."[50] Anger over the business elite's seemingly amoral posture came from the secular left as well; in May 1998, *Mother Jones* magazine published a long and damning expose of USA Engage and its lobbyists titled "So You Want to Trade with a Dictator."[51]

In the end, the Wolf-Specter bill and the Nickels-Lieberman bill were folded into IRFA. The combined bill allowed for graduated sanctions and gave more diplomatic flexibility to the administration, very much as the "quiet diplomacy" advocates had pushed for. But it also demanded annual reporting and a list of "countries of concern," a requirement parallel to the extant requirement for State Department reports on human rights in general. Like those reports, the mandated religious freedom report was designed to be "embarrassing" to diplomacy-as-usual. In this case, the White House and the State Department could expect to be responsible to a constituency that would be watching carefully. The separately constituted US Commission on International Religious Freedom would also play a watchdog role; its members would write their own separate reports, and it provided a space for other kinds of public performances of concern.[52]

The Spectacle of Persecution

So far in this chapter, I have returned several times to the way in which the "persecuted body" becomes a spectacle of evangelical self-fashioning. It is useful to consider, then, this centrality of images of the body, and the

role of popular culture in disseminating those images, in the nearly ten years since the IRFA was passed. At the very end of this chapter, I will turn to examine a concrete case of the impact of the International Religious Freedom Act on US relations with Sudan.

Diplomatic historians often debate the role of culture in shaping policy, but they have far less frequently examined the role of policy in stimulating and shaping popular culture. In the case of the IRFA, however, a policy decision gave renewed impetus to the movement on behalf of persecuted Christians. It was, in Foucault's terms, an incitement to discourse: after 1998, there was a remarkable expansion of information and materials available, all of which played a role in constructing a particular image of "the persecuted." In books and magazines, and increasingly on websites as church activism moved online, believers could read stories on the Web and have vivid images of suffering delivered to their in-box. Voice of the Martyrs (Persecution.com), Open Doors (Opendoorsusa.org), Persecution.org, Christian Freedom International, Compass Direct, and a host of other organizations raised money and solicited prayers for Christian sufferers in Africa, the Middle East, China, and elsewhere. All of them trafficked in detailed stories of suffering; many (but not all) made use of equally dramatic photos.

Voice of the Martyrs, which saw its membership increase threefold after the campaign for the 1998 law, today has a sophisticated website, produces educational material, and distributes "persecution maps" that color-code countries according to how much Christians are persecuted there. Starting around 2000, the World Evangelical Alliance began sending out weekly persecution updates to members who signed up for them.[53]

"Persecution" now so dominates the representation of the global South that even very traditional Christian programs for feeding the hungry or providing jobs have frequently been reframed in those terms. One advertisement on the website of Christian Freedom International, for example, promotes a sponsor-a-child fund-raising program. This type of development program, pioneered by Save the Children but now copied by dozens of similar organizations, has been revamped: you no longer sponsor hungry children; you sponsor "persecuted children." Your money, however, goes to provide food, clean water, and vocational training.[54]

The materials on persecution are not all produced by Americans or Europeans. In the evangelical public sphere, there are scores of books, articles websites, and videos that are written and/or produced by Christians in the global South.[55] At dozens of evangelical conferences each year (held in the United States, Europe, Africa, and elsewhere), believers from around the world arrive as speakers and as activists. Those from the global South describe their struggles to practice their faith: imprisonment, social isolation, and rampant discrimination. They tell their stories, but they also

raise money for their projects and make requests for material or political support.

In the spring of 2004, for example, the World Evangelical Alliance (WEA) held its international conference in Orlando, Florida. There, representatives from India, Egypt, Jamaica, Great Britain, the United States, and seven other countries presented reports on their activities as they shared notes, strategies, and prayers. The plenary speaker for the conference was Johan Candelin, a Finnish national and head of the WEA Religious Liberty Commission.

Candelin's topic was the religious persecution of Christians, and he was a riveting performer. He told story after story, showing terrible pictures: a young Sri Lankan woman whose boyfriend had thrown acid on her when she refused to convert to Islam; another girl, tortured by her Muslim employers after the US bombing of Iraq. Another example, then another: Christians attacked by Muslims, Hindus, communists—but mostly, over and over, by Muslims. To an outside observer, many of the stories seemed to be more about personal conflict and psychopathology than systematic persecution, but Candelin's goal was to do exactly what he did: show damaged people, faces and bodies scarred, and describe the Muslims who had done these things to them.

Candelin was a remarkably effective speaker, who carefully sprinkled his horror stories with other, more encouraging ones. He had great comic timing, a zealot's energy, and in the end a hopeful vision: the persecuted always win, because their suffering is righteous, and they will live and die with God.

The lecture was *not* a spectacle presented only for the sake of Europeans or Americans, to incite pity for "others." It was given to an audience of evangelicals from all over the world—a small group, but a sampling of the global evangelical community that was now rooted as much in the global South as in Europe and the United States. For these attendees, the very fact of sitting together, seeing the images of torture and destruction suffered by fellow believers, offered a form of community building. There was a border-spanning power worked by visions of the body in pain.

The function of these performances showcasing persecution is often ambiguous. Many, as we have seen, consolidate a vision of Muslims massed against Christians, who are their competitors and their victims. In others, as in the Voice of the Martyrs video, there is an additional element as the bodies of brown and black non-Americans are presented in their "to-be-looked-at-ness"—an indicator of their continuing powerlessness?[56] Sometimes, however, these performances lead to increased commitments to forms of global social justice. Younger evangelicals, in particular, have turned to evangelical popular culture as a site of political education that can, at times, transform Christian-centric visions of persecution

into something larger. In the late 1990s, for example, the Christian rock bank Jars of Clay was galvanized by news of Christian persecution. At the time, they were a band with a mainstream following and a few Grammy awards behind them. Theirs was typical of much Christian music: apolitical, mildly countercultural, focused on loving Jesus. With their "narrow worldview," bandleader David Haseltine later wrote, they hadn't realized that "there is a world beyond the safety of our insular church culture."

Then Haseltine read an article about Christian persecution in the Sudan:

> I had seen the pictures of torture victims [before]. I had read the reports of Christian women and children sold into slavery. I have been confronted with the tales of murder, rape, and starvation. But all I knew were stories that seemed to fill that morbid curiosity that draws us to car wrecks and real-life TV shows. These people were not real to me. They were not brothers and sisters.[57]

In the spring of 2000, having met up with one of the leaders of the antipersecution movement, several members of the group went on a trip to Vietnam and China, where they met with underground Christian groups.[58] They came back deeply concerned about the "persecuted Church." They spoke out in interviews, and they worked with Brother Andrew to revise *God's Smugglers* into a gorgeous new volume, *The Narrow Road*, complete with a CD containing a new Jars of Clay song and a photo gallery. They held a benefit concert for Amnesty International and began taking up a collection at their concerts for persecuted Christians.[59] In interviews, the band spoke with what seemed to be deep admiration for the people they visited: "Every experience I had there caused my faith to be shaken and my eyes opened to a *big* God.…These people live in countries where God's provision is *all* they have to rely on. As an American, I can't say I've ever been in that position."[60] The writings, interviews, and popular culture productions by Jars of Clay were one indication of what was in fact an impressive expansion in popular culture and intellectual discourse, in which the idea of "persecuted Christians" was linked to a larger understanding of the reality of life for people in the global South. As I discuss in the conclusion, this was not the end of the story; there were even more changes ahead for these young men—and for evangelicals in general.

Additionally, some evangelicals took the antipersecution message of their campaigns very much to heart when it came to other, more controversial political issues. When the atrocities committed by US military personnel at Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq were revealed in May 2004, the descriptions of the violence done to detainees, and the stunning images of bodies in pain, resonated with the stories and visual culture of the persecuted Christians movement. For almost twenty years, those human rights stories had been deeply integrated into the political discourse of American

evangelicals. It was perhaps no surprise, then—but it was nonetheless striking—that six months after the Abu Ghraib scandal broke, *Christianity Today* ran a cover story: "5 Reasons Why Torture Is Always Wrong; And Why There Should Be No Exceptions." The story opened with descriptions of three people being tortured: one electrocuted, one asphyxiated, a third man humiliated in a bra and thong. It ended with a denunciation that brought "rights talk" to bear at home:

> [W]e do not want to call torture what it is. We do not want to expose our policies, our prisons, or our prisoners to public view. We deny that we are torturing, or we deny that our prisoners are really prisoners. When pushed against the wall, we remind one another how evil the enemy is. We give every evidence of the kind of self-deception that is characteristic of a descent into sin.[61]

At about this time, a group of evangelical intellectuals and activists began the two-year process of drafting "An Evangelical Declaration against Torture," issued in March 2007. David Gusheee was the primary author; other drafters of the declaration included evangelical liberals Brian McLaren and Ron Sider. Still others, however, were moderate conservatives like David Neff, editor of *Christianity Today*, Rebecca Hestenes, the minister at large for World Vision, and professors at several evangelical theological seminaries. "We write this declaration to affirm our support for detainee human rights and our opposition to any resort to torture," the group asserted. Basing its argument against torture on a human rights ethic and a commitment to the "sanctity of life," the declaration insisted that "human rights places a shield around people, even when (especially when) our hearts cry out for vengeance."[62]

Complexities: The Sudan Peace Act

The 1998 IRFA provided for an Office of International Religious Freedom at the State Department, but it also mandated formation of the Commission on International Religious Freedom. From the beginning, there were complaints that the commission was dominated by evangelicals and that it made the persecution of Christians its primary policy agenda.[63] When the group first met in June 1999, it announced a focus on three countries: Sudan, China, and Russia—although in practice Russia would receive far less attention that the other two. In its 2000 report, the commission declared Sudan to be "the world's most violent abuser of the right to freedom of religion and belief."[64]

The activism on Sudan was exemplary of the multilayered politics of the movement after 1998; its complexities make clear how the commitment

to universal human rights, which opened up new worlds for evangelicals in some areas, could also be used—sometimes by evangelicals and sometimes by others—to frame specific political agendas. Human rights politics and anti-Islamic politics were, at times, intimately intertwined. And we see, again, how protecting Christians sometimes pitted an activist base against more "realist" Republican policymakers.

In 2002, the United States passed the Sudan Peace Act, which pressed the Bush administration to pressure Khartoum to come to an agreement with the southern rebels. That pressure was key to bringing about the peace accords with the South, finalized in 2005, which ended a devastating twenty-year civil war and (mostly) stopped ongoing attacks against civilians in the South. For decades, starting in the mid 1980s, a multifaceted and multiparty civil war had wracked Sudan as a series of more or less Islamist governments tried to extend their authority over the South, an area rich in resources, particularly oil. With various degrees of single-mindedness, Khartoum's leaders also attempted to impose *shariʿa* law on a population that was almost entirely Christian and/or practitioners of traditional African religions.[65] Starting in the 1990s, the Southern People's Liberation army (SPLA) became the de facto government of much of southern Sudan, although various factions also engaged in sometimes deadly infighting. The people of the South paid dearly in the course of the war, with estimates as high as two million dead from war, famine, and disease. (The war in the South is separate from the more recent conflict in Darfur. They are related in some ways, but the parties and the stakes are distinct.)

For many evangelicals, the passage of the Sudan Peace Act and the subsequent pressure placed on Khartoum was the key victory of their movement, and indeed the peace there has been mostly successful and, while fragile, has held up remarkably well. In January 2011, Sudan, under pressure from the United States and others in the international community, held a referendum in which South Sudan voted to secede from the rest of Sudan and form an independent country, with that fact accomplished on 9 July 2011.

The problem with the US religious freedom movement's activism on Sudan was that many evangelical media and political organizations engaged a complicated political situation in a simplistic way, framing it as religious war fought in racial terms. Their task, as they saw it, was to raise awareness that "Arab Muslims" in the North were oppressing "black Christians" from the South—destroying their villages, murdering the men, and taking the women and children as slaves. It is true that, in some areas, Arab-speaking tribes crossed into the South (particularly in the region of Bahr al-Ghazal), destroying villages and abducting women and children into forced labor—slavery—in the North. And there is no question that an increasingly dictatorial government in the North was violently aggressive

against non-Muslims, southerners, and ultimately the Muslim but agricultural peoples of Darfur.

In a situation where oil, resources, communal identities, and struggles for political representation were fully in play, some evangelicals explicitly and enthusiastically embraced the idea that Sudan was the exemplar of a larger "clash of civilizations" between the West and Islam, as well as an instance of "white" Arabs from the North attacking black "Africans" in the South. Southern Sudan was the staging ground, a zone of conflict between what one activist called the "jihad warriors" and Christian believers.[66] The idea of jihad was not foreign to the Khartoum government, but the identities of the antagonists in this conflict could not be accurately mapped using American terms. The framing of this conflict as *Arab* Muslim versus *African* Christian was what mobilized many American Christians into the fight on Sudan, but the designations themselves were deeply problematic. The category of "black Christian," for example, ignored the reality that many of the people in the South were not Christian. And their "blackness" was generally defined by language or region, not by "race" in any Western sense.

The racialized and Christianized moral maps of Americans involved not only a misreading of the identities of the antagonists but also a simplification of the multiple concrete political issues at stake. The southern rebels had often disagreed on a number of issues, including about whether they wanted independence or simply more participation in the national government. They were certainly determined to get a greater share of the profits from oil, as well as a level of autonomy from Islamic law; both provisions were ultimately built into the peace agreement signed in 2005. At that time, John Garang, then head of the Southern People's Liberation Army, was made vice president of Sudan. He was later killed in a plane crash, but the SPLA retained representation in the government for some time. It was only after years of fruitless attempts at reaching an acceptable power-sharing agreement, and with the increasing aggression of the government of Omar Bashir in Darfur and in the South, that the SPLA leadership moved entirely away from a "one Sudan" policy.[67]

But the specter of racial slavery galvanized many Americans, including secular observers like Nicholas Kristof, who saw in the modern conflict a stark reminder of US history. They refused to stand silently by in the face of what they understood as a horrific repetition of a historic evil. African American leaders like Joe Madison (a talk show host in DC) and Gloria White-Hammond (a minister in Boston) traveled to South Sudan, usually with the Swiss-based organization Christian Solidarity International, to perform dramatic and often emotionally powerful "slave redemptions." That is, members of the team arranged with a "trader" to "buy back" slaves who had been taken to the North. This practice was controversial; some observers, including the Washington Office on Africa, argued that it

actually created a market for people who could then be sold back. Others believed that the process was often fraudulent and that the activists were "buying" people who had never left their villages, with the money going into the SPLA's war chest. But Christian Solidarity International and other organizations insisted that they had a well-developed system to protect against both potential problems.[68]

More significant, perhaps, was the visceral power of such images; the reports back home helped to frame the politics of Sudan in terms that resonated profoundly with the history of racial slavery in the United States.[69] The conflict in Sudan thus also became, for some white evangelicals, a calling card for a certain kind of racial liberalism. Franklin Graham, son of Billy Graham and one of the country's best-known evangelists (he led a prayer at both Bush inaugurations), made Sudan one of his key issues. Franklin Graham is far more conservative, theologically and politically, than his father, but writing in the *Wall Street Journal* in 2000, he took a strong stance on the issue of prejudice, arguing that both anti-Christian bias and racism were the source of the US government's unwillingness to more fully support the rebels in the South. Graham argued that "the Muslim government is waging a brutal war against Christians." He went on: "Why is the United States not responding in Sudan when the West did act on behalf of the Muslims in the [former] Yugoslavia?" Perhaps Christians were being ignored. Or maybe the hesitation was due to racism: "are the lives of Europeans more valuable than those of Africans?" Graham asked.[70]

Whatever the actual complexities of the situation, US evangelicals' representations of the conflict in Sudan were remarkably potent, combining as they did the discourse of persecution and the politics of race. Paul Marshall, author of *Their Blood Cries Out* and a Fellow at Freedom House, was an important source of expert testimony on the conflict in the Sudan and elsewhere. He consistently argued that Sudan was just one example of a larger trend: Vietnam was persecuting Christians, and Iraq's insurgents were engaged in anti-Christian "ethnic cleansing." As Marshall wrote in an editorial, these were all fronts in a larger war against "Islamofascism."[71]

Sudan activists feared that their moral values were always in danger of being compromised by realpolitik. And, indeed, after September 11 the Bush administration tried to suspend discussion of the Sudan Peace Act in order to enlist Khartoum in the war on terror. The administration was unsuccessful in stopping the passage of the law, but the conflict between the activists and the White House over how best to fight "militant Islam" was one indication of the ongoing fissures on foreign policy *among* conservatives. As with the IRFA debates, some social conservatives were pitted against free-market conservatives and the business community.[72] Republican representative Spencer Bachus of Alabama proposed an amendment that would have forced non-US oil companies that did business in Sudan

to be taken off the US stock exchange. (US-based companies were already under sanctions.) Bachus and the Christian-based Sudan movement took aim at the presumption that globalizing capital could make its own morality-free zone. "When you have to make a choice between dollars and lives," Bachus said, "you choose lives."[73] (The Bachus amendment was not included in the final Sudan Peace Act.)

The Sudan movement intensified the evangelical discourse on Islam as a threat and the self-representation of American Christians who saw "themselves" (in the form of Christians in Sudan or elsewhere) as persecuted. At the same time, it engaged white and black evangelicals together in new ways to help push for a peace accord. And it became one venue in which evangelicals began to redefine themselves as multiracial, socially conscious, and "newly" internationalist.

Conclusion: But Where Are the Liberals?

Starting in the 1980s, US evangelicals began to pay a great deal more attention to their role within a global community of believers. As part of that recognition, they embraced and negotiated a commitment to international human rights—a commitment that sometimes challenged, and sometimes enhanced, their simultaneous sense of a specific commitment to protecting other Christians. In its globalized form, particularly, the persecuted Christians movement marked both a fearful sense of embattlement and an expansive dream of freedom.

Elizabeth Castelli argues that religion (a category whose capacious parameters are part of its power) can serve as "a critical theory of suffering." The contours of that theory are up for negotiation in different contexts, of course. The cultural work of religion-in-practice, Castelli points out, is not fixed, but "generates a range of responses to suffering—urging its endurance, providing practices for its elimination, creating frameworks for its interpretation." There are, she says, two different ways in which religion, violence, and suffering interpret each other. We see,

> on the one hand, religion's capacity to illuminate the suffering, to focus our attention on it, to provide practices for tending to it, and for critiquing the conditions that bring it into being—on the other hand, religion's capacity to rationalize suffering, to inscribe it with divine sanction, to blunt the impulse to alleviate it.[74]

Beautiful and helpful as this formulation is, its "on the one hand/on the other hand" structure does not do full justice to the complex interplay of narratives, the simultaneous claims of God's sovereignty and human responsibility, and the intersecting gestures of solidarity and universality

in the messy lived-ness of this particular historical moment. The movement to protect persecuted Christians inscribed suffering with divine sanction *and* proposed practices for critiquing the conditions that brought that suffering into being. And, in the process, some people, sometimes, constructed a foundation for a kind of humanitarian and social justice activism that ultimately transcended a focus on Christians-first.

Consider what happened to Jars of Clay. The band had made their first trip to Vietnam and China under the auspices of a conservative Bible-distribution group; they returned as advocates for persecuted Christians. Shortly after, bandleader Haseltine was invited on a trip to tour parts of Africa (including Uganda and Malawi); later, the band went to South Africa and elsewhere. At that point, they came back galvanized about the issue of HIV/AIDS, which they also understood immediately as connected to structural economic problems. They also realized that people in Africa suffered from other, waterborne diseases, and that their fundamental needs included (among other things) clean well water. The group founded their own charity, the Blood:Water Mission, whose name evoked profound Christian symbolism, and whose work focused on the quotidian tasks of well building and AIDS education. They also got involved with the ONE campaign, Bono's global antipoverty program, and later joined a larger group of evangelicals who prayed for aid for Africa at the G-8 summit in 2005. Soon, Haseltine started speaking out politically as well. "Over the years, we really got tired of being lumped in with so many things we didn't believe," he told a reporter. "As the political process seems to be narrowing in on 'Republicans are all Christians, Christians are all Republicans,' we decided we don't really want to fall into those categories."[75] These days, instead of focusing on persecuted Christians at their concerts, Jars of Clay ask their audiences to contribute to their work for HIV-AIDS programs and clean water projects.

American evangelical Christians are afraid: they believe that Christians around the world are persecuted, that Islam is a global threat, and that their fundamental values are under assault by a secular culture. American evangelicals are fearless: they are assertive and self-confident, energized, and powerful enough to enact legislation that promotes their particular vision of international human rights. These concomitant realities do not form a contradiction so much as a mutually enabling construction: in the last three decades, evangelical fears of persecution have become the impetus for a remarkable surge of activism. The moral geographies of the new evangelical internationalism are in flux. They contain both the seeds of global solidarity and the threat of increasing hostility. Whatever the future holds, however, this history should make one thing clear: we can no longer analyze evangelical politics through the lens of the Moral Majority. A new world has come, and the embodied, border-spanning faith of evangelicals is shaping it for us all.

CHAPTER 8

Danger, Media, and the Urban Experience in Delhi

RAVI SUNDARAM, CENTER FOR THE STUDY
OF DEVELOPING SOCIETIES, DELHI

> The debris of shipwrecked histories still today raise up the ruins of an unknown, strange city. They burst forth within the modernist, massive homogenous city like slips of the tongue from an unknown, perhaps unconscious language.
> —Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1998), 133

Between the hot months of April, May, and June 2001, the Indian capital was deluged by stories of a monkey-like creature that attacked people at night. These stories emerged almost entirely from the proletarian and lower-middle-class neighborhoods of East Delhi and the nearby suburbs of Ghaziabad and Noida.[1] The initial reports came in from the district of Ghaziabad and spread to East Delhi by early May. The reports from local papers in the former spoke of a Kala Bandar (black monkey); by May this had morphed into the figure of the "Monkeyman," a human-animal hybrid, endowed with considerable speed, generating both fear and violence in the community. Almost immediately a frenzy of media effects began with regular television and news reports, daily sightings, and television interviews given by victims of attacks. The Delhi police, harassed by hoax calls, quickly announced a reward of fifty thousand rupees for information on the alleged nocturnal intruder, and also undertook massive patrolling of the streets in the eastern part of the city on a scale seen only in large social disturbances. In various poorer neighborhoods of East Delhi there was widespread terror of the dark: many people would stay awake all night to keep vigil. Given the summer heat and recurring power breakdowns, many would sleep on the roofs of homes, a common practice in India. During the Monkeyman months, however, sleeping on the roof was seen as inviting danger.

In many neighborhoods, groups of young men nervously patrolled the streets at night with sticks. As the reports of attacks mounted, there were

news stories that combined both terror and the carnivalesque, as here in the *Pioneer*:

> According to police sources, a man, who had applied black lubricant on his body, face and hair to look like a monkey, was nabbed by the local residents of the New Defence Colony area of Bhopura locality. The man, who was later identified as Dharmender, was found on the roof of Chaudhary Brijbir Singh at his house no C-33, New Defence Colony Ghaziabad. Initially he acted like a monkey to terrorise the residents. But somehow he was over powered by a crowd. The entire locality was panic stricken. In the police station, Dharmender confessed that he wanted to take advantage of the monkey menace. Therefore he applied black lubricant on his face and body and tried to act like a monkey. Dharmender originally hails from District Deoria and is presently residing in a village called Sahibabad. He is stated to have said that he was working with a company as a welder.[2]

The combination of live media reportage, stories circulating via mobile phone text messages, and face-to-face conversations in the neighborhood buses all but consumed the city and placed the police under considerable stress. For almost two months the city remained paralyzed by news of the sightings; there were even reports of deaths and injuries from some areas.[3] Meanwhile emergency rooms in government hospitals in East Delhi treated people for shock and injury. As restive crowds moved through the streets, there were many tragic stories of mistaken identities. The *Hindu*, an English-language daily known for its conservative and careful writing, carried this typical story on May 18, 2001:

> Some people beat up a man they "mistook" for the monkeyman. Om Prakash, a resident of Shakarpur, found himself at the receiving end of a hostile mob which cornered him in Geeta Colony around 1-15 a.m. The mob stoned and smashed the Mahindra Voyager vehicle of Om Prakash. They then chased and beat up the bewildered man, who was later admitted to hospital. The police have registered a case of rioting and arrested one person.[4]

Two days earlier the *Hindu* had carried another typical report from the neighborhood of Krishna Nagar in East Delhi:

> The first attack occurred around 10-30 p.m. on the first floor house of Shadab, 17, in Lane No. 20 of New Shanti Mohalla in Krishna Nagar. "I saw my brother being dragged by someone. When I tried to save him, I was bitten on my hands.… There are scratch marks on my back too," said Mehtab, Shadab's brother, on Monday.…The

> attacks led to panic in the area and most residents came out of their homes. As a matter of precaution, Yusuf Khan, sleeping on the roof of his third floor house, asked his family to come down and sleep in the verandah. However, around 1-45 a.m., his sister Afsana woke up for water and heard her three-year-old son Naved crying. On closer inspection, she found Naved bleeding in the forehead. "My son had bite marks on the forehead. I could also feel something heavy jump out of the verandah," said Afsana. While the area was abuzz with stories about the monkeyman, three persons living a few lanes away sustained fractures when they hurriedly jumped down from the roof in the wee hours of Monday.[5]

As the month of May progressed, a mix of popular stories continued to spread, hoax calls regularly clogged the police phone network, and fantastic physiognomies of the creature managed to successfully confuse and paralyze the government machinery.[6] The police headquarters first prepared a somewhat understated profile from witness and media accounts. Finally, in desperation, the police commissioned an urgent inquiry by a senior team of doctors from the Institute of Human Behavior and Allied Sciences (IHBAS). The team conducted detailed interviews with around ninety victims. It submitted its report by mid-June, concluding that for the most part "psychological factors," rather than a "monkey man," were responsible for the incidents.[7] The report also suggested that "repetitive images" in the news media and the physical presence of the police sustained the phenomenon. A month earlier a study by senior doctors at East Delhi's GTB Hospital had concluded that "mass hysteria" symptoms were detected and media repetition lead to mass disturbance: "Photographs and interviews of the victims and other experts were telecast and printed by television and newspapers respectively. All this facilitated the spread of the outbreak against the background of stress, as the phrasing in the press was emotionally laden."[8]

By mid-June the stories seemed to have somewhat subsided. The police top brass proclaimed that neither *Kala Bandars* nor the Monkeyman existed, dismissing as mass delusion the scores of reports from people who claimed they had seen the creature. In interviews, the GTB Hospital doctors confirmed this explanation and characterized the wounds of victims as self-inflicted.[9] The largely skeptical English-language media and the middle- and upper-class residents of the city, who had watched the whole episode with a mix of voyeuristic fascination, amusement, and embarrassment at the perceived irrational behavior of their poorer neighbors across the Yamuna, now heaved a sigh of relief.

At one level, the subaltern districts of East Delhi emerged in the events of April–June 2001 as what Anthony Vidler has called a "dark space." In

Vidler's account, dark space becomes a stand-in for the fallen and degraded subject, a repository of superstition, nonreason, and the breakdown of civility. For Vidler, "space is assumed to hide, in its darkest recesses and forgotten margins, all the objects of fear and phobia that have returned to haunt the imagination of those who have tried to stake out spaces to protect their health and happiness." Dark space both poses both a threat and, as a portent of the world not seen, operates "as medical and physical metaphor(s) for all the erosions of bourgeois bodily and social well-being." Mapped onto the body, dark space constantly invades "light space" through the narratives of crime, epidemics, urban panics, and the houseless urban poor.[10]

When the doctors' reports of 2001 held out rumor and the social conditions of poverty and overcrowding as causes of the events, they were of course recalling an older colonial argument and its postcolonial reconfiguration. In colonial India, rumor had played an important role in allegorizing dark space. For the rulers, rumor was seen as causal when actions of the colonized—unruly and unhealthy religious processions, communal disturbance, and social protest—took place in the city. Colonial urban governance deployed a range of rational knowledges—surveys, statistics, campaigns, and urban governance—to address the management of rumor.[11] Police intelligence and constantly updated efforts to gauge "native opinion" joined this effort.

However, during the Monkeyman panic, the experts called by the police went much further than colonial narratives; both the IHBAS and the GTB Hospital reports suggested that media effects had actually *staged* the event. The argument that media "produces" social actions is by no means new; it has been made in a number of popular commentaries on crime and social disturbance through the twentieth century. Both conservative as well as countercultural commentators have long seen media and television as emblematic of the corruption/instrumentalization of the modern. In his well-known essay "The Thing," Martin Heidegger suggested that television postulates the "abolition of every possibility of remoteness," and arguments about the erasure of human subjectivity have been a staple of much of classical critical theory.[12] The idea that culture industries and media corporations manipulate mass publics and even stage popular displays of anger, mourning, and joy is common to a large body of early critical and media theory.[13]

Media, Viral Culture, and Technologies of Fear

After Independence, the Nehruvian regime saw the "media," most notably radio but later television, as primarily pedagogic institutions.[14] Run by a technocratic elite, radio and television were clearly designed to stand apart

from the city.[15] All this changed significantly when state controls where loosened from the 1980s, and the economy began a process of liberalization and deeper integration with the global economy. This process significantly blurred the lines between the media and the urban experience for millions of city dwellers in India. The 1990s generated a series of material and tactile media through which information moved faster and faster. Low-cost computers, advertising, mobile phones, and digital images have transformed urban life. What is significant is the emergence of new forms of publicity: images now crowd streets, walls, and buses while electronically boosted soundscapes (music, political campaigns, religious chants, car horns) expand and occupy roads and neighborhood space. Interestingly this kinetic media sensorium is often experienced in mixed spaces—low-cost video players in working-class areas running makeshift movie theaters. The 1990s saw many cities in India combine urban expansion and crisis along with an overwhelming world of new media experiences.

Postcolonial governmental policies were based on a careful separation of the spheres of the social and the media. While the social sphere was the realm of welfare and community, the mass media existed in the realm of leisure, nurture, and cultural policy. This was in line with most global developmentalist and modernization theories of the time. The incidents of the summer of 2001 therefore posed a serious problem for this model, already under strain by the 1980s. At one level, the media surface was seen as both a cause and the addressee of the crisis, for the police leadership and city officials' attempts to produce an official, authoritative media archive emerged as crucial for long-term stabilization.[16] Nevertheless, so excessive was the affective world of the event(s) that it was not easily amenable to classic techniques of separation and control. The Monkeyman/*Kala Bandar* stories, unlike many urban rumors, circulated across a vast landscape, involving neighborhoods, the media, repetitive sightings, and an unstoppable intensity. The stories congealed in both an urban and "media event," incorporating middle-class pathologies of space, images of the miscegeny of human and animal suggesting larger nonmodern practices in the city. As a viral phenomenon—relayed instantly through text messages, repetitive live broadcasting, and visceral media headlines—this form of urban fear proliferated well beyond the control of media managers, city officials, the police, and politicians. The "media" thus emerged as the signifying and unstable archive of the event, where a body of images, news, text messages all combined to produce a disorienting image of urban life, spinning out of control.

The events of the Monkeyman panic offer a useful point of departure to examine some of the new media technologies of fear that emerged after the unraveling of the postcolonial urban regime in Delhi. Technologies of fear refer to knowledges and techniques deployed to manage, map, and understand urban fear in contemporary Delhi. These technologies emerge

from both old and new sites of sovereign power in the city: urban bodies, police, hospitals, courts, civic groups, professional bodies, and media managers. The new technologies of fear intervene through media effects: publicized court judgments, TV campaigns, new physiognomies of identification and information gathering. Rather than care for a social body, the language of risk and uncertainty is increasingly the favored terrain for technologies of fear today. Plunging into the new media (text campaigns, blogs, and media management), these technologies of fear suggest an out-of-control urban experience, needing radical new points of endless intervention. Sara Ahmed suggests a certain slippage between states of anxiety and fear in the contemporary; fear lacks a specific object, which makes its condition that of "moving between."[17] A postmedia environment accelerates this problematic, particularly in conditions of postcolonial informality, where older regime control systems have broken down.

Cultures of viral media proliferation suggest a larger problematic not just for governments and existing institutions of power. Populations who increasingly partake in this viral media enter a world of exhilarating but vastly disorienting experiences with a turbulent blurring of cultural and spatial boundaries. Populations have moved from being seen as only classic "recipients" of media in cinema halls, radio sets, televisions. This scenario, a staple of much of twentieth-century modernity, suggested experiences of initial shock and distraction in increasingly technologized cities. The changed phenomenology of nearness and distance brought about by the media has an equally dark, visceral quality, tearing apart stable modes of contemplation. The dramatic "live" experience brought about by flickering film, television, advertising, and mobile screens also disperses space, bringing new dangers, anxieties, and phobias. In the context of postcolonial South Asia, where the media and the urban boom have coincided in recent years, fear has become implicated in a broader social theater of boom culture and urban crisis.

The techniques of fear in contemporary Delhi and specific event constellations form the core of this chapter. I first examine the remarkable dispersal of the colonial and postcolonial design for the city, setting the stage for a dynamic and disorienting constellation of media urbanism. I then examine the new technologies of fear that emerged in the 1990s, returning to the Monkeyman incident at the close of the essay.

Planning and the Dream of Abstract Space

By the 1970s Delhi, the quintessential empire city almost a millennium old, was viewed by the rest of the country through the prism of a drab and cruel urbanism of planning, and the rule of corrupt political and cultural elites.

Other metropolitan elites regarded post-Partition Delhi's largely migrant population as lacking in cultural capital—where rootlessness and migration, that most cosmopolitan of Enlightenment virtues, was now turned against itself. The great melancholic lament of Delhi's poets, which began with the sack of the city by the Persian emperor Nadir Shah in the eighteenth century, followed by the wholesale destruction wrought by the English East India Company's armies in 1857–58,[18] and the caesura of Partition in 1947, came to an end with the postwar Master Plan's urban vision. For the rest of the country, planning and politics imaged Delhi, a cruel fate for a city that saw its first settlement in the tenth century.

To be sure, visitors to Delhi in the 1950s and the 1960s might have observed a city lacking a modern urban rhythm, at least in comparison to Bombay and Calcutta. Urban civic and cultural life was muted; a very small cultural elite that clustered around state cultural institutions could not intervene effectively in the public life of the city. Much of the elite intervention took place in the former colonial zone, which continued to be the site for institutional growth, cultural centers, embassies, conference sites, and hotels—all forming a model of abstract space that the original planning design had in mind. At this time migration was steady; the city expanded to 2.6 million by 1970. Urban-planning bodies managed the city through zoning laws, housing schemes, and refugee resettlement. Housing construction was steady, and colonies expanded rapidly in the south and the west of the city. The migrants from West Punjab reinvigorated commercial life in the city, markets expanded, and new networks of credit and circulation were built through family and kinship ties, all laying a foundation for the rapid commercial explosions of the 1980s. By the 1970s a significant working-class presence was concentrated around small industries and the new export/industrial zones of Okhla and the New Okhla Industrial Development Area (NOIDA). These movements of working people to Delhi, along with the increase in small industry and commerce, gradually changed the urban morphology.

The three decades since 1971 showed the most dramatic shifts. The population of Delhi grew from 4 million in 1971 to 13 million in 2001. By 1998 there were 1,080 squatter settlements housing approximately 10 percent of the population, while a further 24 percent of the population lived in "unauthorized colonies." In addition there were illegal markets, street vendors, weekly street bazaars, and a very dynamic small business culture revitalizing markets. The footprint of Delhi now covers the "National Capital Region," which had a population of 37 million in 2001. In short, Delhi had changed from the stasis of a political capital, dominated by bureaucratic elites, to something akin to a "megacity."[19]

Such rapid growth was not anticipated by the planners in the 1950s when they imagined Delhi as a small, administrative, and nonindustrial

city. The Master Plan of 1962 had sought to ambitiously define the shape of the city for the next few decades. This was the work of a team of US urban planners, sociologists, and architects working in collaboration with officials of the Town and Planning Organisation that had been set up earlier. The team was invited by the Ford Foundation to Delhi in consultation with the Indian government.[20] The key figure was Albert Mayer, a New York City planner who was active in the regional planning movement in the United States along with Clarence Stein and others.[21] Mayer had prepared the first plan for Chandigarh, before he was ousted by Le Corbusier.[22] Mayer had also been involved in a number of urban community projects and was well regarded by Nehru. His team worked through the 1950s to produce various drafts of the Master Plan as well as sociological studies.

Mayer's team had been invited against a background of urgent calls to institute urban planning in Delhi, already overwhelmed by the refugee influx after the Partition of India, as well as a recent jaundice epidemic.[23] As representatives of the progressivist regional urban planning movement in the United States, the Master Plan team had strong support from Nehru. Following this, the Master Plan team in had a clear modernist mandate from the regime, though there were pressures to attend to social disparities and break with the colonial urban past, even as it had informed more recent developments.[24] Indeed colonial urban policy in twentieth-century Delhi had been largely based on a previous colonial need to manage the old city, decisively marginalized after the coming of New Delhi. The government-commissioned Hume report of 1930 had, for example, identified "congestion" as a significant problem in the development of a modern planned city. The metaphor of congested space, with its catalogue of disease and fallen subjects, suggested a regulatory regime of planning and urban redevelopment. The Delhi Improvement Trust (DIT) was a result of this report.[25] The DIT attempted to relieve congestion through various city expansion schemes, ultimately compromised by land speculation and little access to the city's poor.[26]

In this context then, the American planners who worked on the Delhi Master Plan two decades later went through a series of intense internal debates over the correct "form" of the city, the "optimum" size, along with issues of work, industry, and slums. Despite liberal concerns over perceived "segregation" in housing and the desire to minimize social friction, the team remained obsessed with eliminating "non-rational uses" of land.[27] In the event, the finalized Delhi Master Plan saw the city as a productive organism; easy movement was integral to this imaginary. This involved a careful distinction between forms of labor and subjectivity that were seen as appropriate to modern urban life in India; those who failed to assimilate into this model of urbanism could be open for displacement. Rural industries, particularly those in the old city, were part of this equation.

The Master Plan's land use scheme delineated commerce, industry, work, and home as near-separate zones and further distinguished between normal, hazardous, and "noxious" industries, the latter to be removed from the city.[28]

Despite its exhaustive sociological studies and concern for social justice, the Master Plan team's opposition to mixed land use and an insistence on a separation of work and residence zones ignored the life worlds of the old city, where workshops, markets, and homes existed in dense overlapping patterns. While the plan avoided the colonial city's ceremonial anxieties, it followed the planning team's antiurbanism through a dispersal of space and setting limits on the height of buildings. A deep anxiety about any economic proliferation outside the language of the plan meant that a high degree of centralized power was given to the city's development body (DDA). For the American planners this may also have been an acknowledgment of nationalist sovereignty over the capital. In line with its progressivist gloss, the Master Plan initiated the largest land nationalizations in Indian history, and the Delhi Development Authority was made the sole authority to develop land and housing. A freeze on private real estate transactions, or an effective control on all land developed by the state, was instituted in 1959.[29] A peculiar mix of modernist design, garden city antiurbanism, and progressive centralization of governmental power led subsequent critics to suggest it was a design for a "heartless city."[30]

The postcolonial scenario of the past few decades has witnessed the implosion of urban life: the new expansion of cities has made classic urban management models such as those pushed by Mayer and 1950s planners irrelevant or simply inoperative. Endless proliferation marks the new postcolonial city. Home workshops, markets, hawkers, small factories, small and large settlements of the working poor now spread all over the planned metropolis, or in regions where it was impossible to do so some years ago. Productive, nonlegal proliferation has emerged as a defining component of the new urban crisis in India. "Informality" has emerged as one of the main designations of proliferation in recent years, first by policy scholars and later in debates within urban studies.[31] Informality also helped to transform postcolonial cities into *media cities*, a tag typically reserved for the "global city." From the late 1970s various combinations of media consumption, circulation, and production have rapidly expanded in Asian, Latin American, and African cities. Cassette and television culture has now given way to digital media, with a cultural morphology that does not simply replicate forms of corporate and state control as in the broadcast age.[32] An increasing body of research from Mexico to Nigeria and now Asia has shown that postcolonial cities are vibrant hubs for new media productions, spurred on by a range of low-cost urban infrastructures: mobile telephony, video and digital technologies, and parallel distribution circuits.

This produces a media experience that assumes constant breakdown, recycled assemblages, serial dispersal, and endless proliferation of multiple forms and sites.

Delhi: The Crisis of the 1990s

By the 1990s, a feeling of constant breakdown in the city exposed the inadequacies of the 1962 Master Plan's confident modernist vision for Delhi. Crisis points of the city were rapidly mapped onto different landscapes: the liberal environmentalist demand to remove "polluting industries" from the city, chaotic public transportation, and the alarmingly high rates of death on the roads. Paranoiac security discourses after civil conflicts in Kashmir and Punjab overflowed in Delhi in the shape of terrorist incidents. In the event, constant urban crises prized open the existing "political" arrangements of the city. These had involved the grafting of political claims by local populations within the routine practices of urbanism, a phenomenon approximating Partha Chatterjee's description of "political society."[33] This arrangement had accommodated the great expansion of the nonlegal city after 1977, often with the help of local politicians. Since the mid-1990s, this older "political" model of urban growth was thrown into complete confusion. A significant cause of this has been a middle-class environmental campaign that petitioned sympathetic courts, portraying the city as a space on the brink of ecological collapse and transport disaster. Crisis scenarios by the turn of the century were identified and dramatized on a daily basis. Perceived in middle-class civic campaigns as the only space protected from the "corruption" of the political elites, court intervention in the city was fundamental.

The courts had been shifting steadily toward liberal interventionism in the 1990s, using the public interest litigations (PIL) initiated by civic groups as the site to generate an urban drama that occupied public life for more than a decade. Paradoxically, the 1962 Master Plan acted as an imaginary reference in this new constellation.[34] In early 2006 the Supreme Court began a process that pronounced that all construction, settlement, and life that was in violation of the 1962 Master Plan had to be demolished by the city authorities. This brought to a climax a legal discourse that had emerged in the 1990s when the first petitions began to be heard.[35] In its judgments the court importantly referenced the Master Plan as the law of the city. The judgments followed the core Master Plan of 1962 with minor amendments in 1990 that largely preserved the original design. The court judgments followed the plan's argument about urban pathogenesis and the need for separation of work, industry, and commerce. In the years following the first court judgment of 1996, the Master Plan emerged as

the "originary" archive of the legal city, referred to in popular conversation and newspaper debates. The normative-disciplinary words deployed by the plan—"non-conforming," "hazardous," and "commercial"—now entered a larger universe of discourse on the city. As if displaced from the technocratic discourse of planners, the Master Plan entered a realm of the imaginary.

While the court orders began as an ostensible critique of commercialization, they eventually touched every neighborhood, hundreds of squatter camps, and thousands of small shops, as well as simple extensions and modifications to homes. The court order of 2006 acted as the master reference in the crisis, with daily violence occurring when demolition squads moved in. Public anxiety was reflected in screaming headlines and nonstop news coverage. This brought to a political crisis a discourse that emerged from the mid-1990s, when court orders periodically declared various forms of life to be out of conformity with law: polluting small industries, speeding public buses, all settlement on "public land," squatter settlements. The court orders mobilized images of urban chaos, executive-style command, and a cinematic urgency of movement suggesting immediate action. Practices that were ordinarily part of the pastoral power of government were suddenly rendered visible through dramatic civic judgments. In doing this publicly, the courts accelerated images of crisis, already in circulation in the hyperstimulus of the city. Egged on by sympathetic media and advocacy groups, the courts appointed special committees to look over every aspect of civic life, causing terror and fear in neighborhoods they visited.[36] A phantom civic subject emerged in this very public legal discourse, identifiably middle-class, postpolitical, and projected as the injured legatee of the urban body.

The court orders from the mid-1990s continuously dramatized the vast surface of a previously hidden city. These included new "unauthorized" neighborhoods, informal and nonlegal settlements, working-class migrations, and a vast network of small markets, neighborhood factories, and small shops. Horizontal networks of production, circulation, and a dizzyingly complex world of infrastructure support, tenure, and occupation emerged: a productively chaotic mix, which became ingredients of the crisis narrative mobilized in court cases of the 1990s. Beyond the legal language of the court, vast traffic, new smells of plastic garbage, industrial waste, food shops, and burnt fumes from buses and auto rickshaws transformed and inflamed the sense of everydayness and produced a hyperstimulus of urbanism.

This hyperstimulus was now predicated on a vastly expanded media: video, sound, digital print, telephony, and *things* of media—cassettes, televisions, screens, CDs, posters, phones, and flyers. These media forms spread all over the city and became inseparable from the urban experience.

The corporeal mix of the two gave the urban experience a visceral, overimaged feel. It also dispersed the morphology of the planned city. This was clearly a different kind of city than the one imagined by the Master Plan. Endless proliferation was the secret of this new metropolis. Proliferation slowly mixed with a media sensorium to create a dynamic urban loop that seemed to push the city to the brink.

Information Zones: The News Headline, Soundscapes

> Media determine our situation, which—in spite of, or because of it deserves an explanation.
> —Friedrich A. Kittler, *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter* (1999)

A crucial space in the information zone of crisis was the emergence of aggressive local reporting and dynamic headlines in all the major papers. This made the newspaper an active archive of the present. Headline font size increased steadily over the decade, racing to keep pace with an expanding city. Focusing on infrastructural collapse, papers reported road accidents caused by speeding buses, regular electricity blackouts, and water shortages. Even the *New York Times* reported in 1993 that, "[f]or the first time, there is a feeling of collapse here, the sense that this capital city—once a way station for Moghul armies, later an exhibition of British town planning by Sir Edwin Lutyens—is finally being overwhelmed by people and traffic and the final crumbling of fragile and inadequate public services." The report went on to quote Malavika Singh, who was then editor of *Business India*. The city was breaking apart, said Singh, "It's tearing at the seams. There's no power and water. The phones don't work. The bus drivers are mauling human beings as they go by. It is grim." The story went on to set up a picture of electricity breakdowns and resultant neighborhood riots and garbage everywhere.[37]

The prominence of crisis stories reflected a new form of writing and reporting about the city that emerged in the 1990s. The *Indian Express*, *Hindustan Times*, and the *Pioneer* all developed strong city reporting; later entrants were the *Hindu* and the *Times of India*. The Hindi papers with quality city reporting included *Jansatta* and *Rashtriya Sahara*, and the evening paper *Sandhya Times*. By the late 1990s Hindi news television offered Delhi-specific channels that provided instant coverage of accidents. In print, local news began to gradually move to the front pages by the end of the 1990s. By 2005 city news took on the same weight as national news. Narratives of consumption and spectacle coexisted with stories of death and disorder, sharpening the sensory experience of the growing metropolis. The newspapers' political reporting coexisted with increasing numbers

of stories about brutal murders of old couples and families, infrastructure breakdowns, and traffic chaos. The urban reporting also presented a deliberate archival strategy—careful detailing, character types (victims, heroes, and villains), an effort to move through diverse viewpoints, perhaps a diminishing quality in national journalism. While the reporting technique was almost surgical, it created a heightening of sensations through its sharp headlines and allegories of a dark city. Perceptions of urban disorder and untimely deaths increased as millions came into contact with a rapidly changing city. The narratives of the 1990s traveled from the social world of the city to the media and back creating an interface that reinvented the relationship between the material and the imaginary. Disaster stories, pollution, crime, and accident statistics flowed back and forth between print headlines, roadside electronic boards, text messages to mobile phones, and television ticker headlines. By publicly mixing delirium with death, the information zone unintentionally drew attention to an injured public body of the city.

From the late 1980s religious events, too, began to be staged publicly using amplified music and video. Such techniques were utilized with great effect by the Hindu fundamentalists in particular.[38] By the 1990s these techniques also spread to weddings and parties. Interviews with neighborhood DJs and music shops suggest that this transformation began in the mid-1980s when sound equipment costs dropped, but the deployment of sound and image for new forms of public expression in the city grew rapidly from the mid-1990s. These ranged from the use of mosque and temple loudspeakers, car horns, loud night-long devotions (*jagran*s) in neighborhoods, political rallies. The ambient sound that was always present in the South Asian city increased tremendously, causing conflicts at every level. What was once thought to be an assertion of middle-class modernity now expanded into a broader soundscape of the city to cover all social groups. In her book on the history of sound cultures of early twentieth-century America, Emily Thompson argues that a soundscape was not simply an aural landscape but also included modes of listening and discipline.[39] Thompson also suggests that public sound generated a series of unforeseen urban conflicts that required new technologies of civic management through regulation and a growing body of case law. The expansion of electronically amplified instruments from the 1980s in Indian cities posed the problem of managing aural (and visual) production—at a time when large sections of the urban population became actual or potential media producers. For the most part the existing technologies of sound management (nuisance law, the Factory Act) proved to be of little use. Proliferation of media, running parallel to the proliferation of the city, seemed unstoppable. Campaigns against indiscriminate use of loudspeakers and firecrackers were started by middle-class civic groups. Petitions reached

the Supreme Court, which ultimately banned the use of loudspeakers from 10 p.m. to 6 a.m. The court's judgment itself is fascinating, as it captures the problematic of media urbanism—the move from controlled and manageable spaces of reception (cinema halls, factories) to a situation where media emerged from the public body, *as if without limits*. This is what the court said in July of 2005:

> Noise is a type of atmospheric pollution. It is a shadowy public enemy whose growing menace has increased in the modern age of industrialization and technological advancement.…Noise pollution was previously confined to a few special areas like factory or mill, but today it engulfs every nook and corner of the globe, reaching its peak in urban areas. Industries, automobiles, rail engines, airplanes, radios, loudspeakers, tape recorders, lottery ticket sellers, hawkers, pop singers, etc., are the main ear contaminators of the city area and its market place.[40]

In suggesting that "noise" had emerged from the enclosed spaces of the factory to permeate "every nook and corner" of the globe and the city, the court foregrounded the limits of the existing technologies of management. Mixing things and people as "ear contaminators" of the city, the court judgment exposed the growing confusion about the effects produced by machines and humans. This was in a sense the dramaturgy of media urbanism. As urban populations embraced more media, producing unstable mixes of desire, and conflict, the field was wide open for the new middle-class civic intervention that came into view from the late 1990s.

Road Culture

One of the main sites of middle-class civic intervention was the road. As the city globalized, the growth of machine mobility paralleled the urban crisis. The ecstasies of private vehicle ownership went hand in hand with perceived death-effects of road machines. The middle and upper classes had been migrating to private cars from the 1980s, while public transport was largely used by lower middle classes and workers. The state bus corporation was privatized in 1988, and the new private Redline buses became the focus of public anger because of road deaths. An average two thousand people have been killed by traffic accidents in the city every year since the 1990s, and thousands more are injured—the bulk of them from the working poor.

The bloody drama around road culture entangled buses, passengers, drivers, bystanders, and almost everyone in the city. Though buses never exceeded more than one percent of the vehicles on the roads, they were

at the center of public violence that moved between the bodies of broken machines, human bodies, and the enactment of an uncontrollable subjective force that sometimes seemed to emanate from machines, at other times from the actions of human beings. This discourse refracted through media stories, personal narratives, technical reports, and court judgments.

The Redline soon became the "Bloodline" in the media. Complaints against buses filled letters to the editor. The AP correspondent in Delhi, Krishan Guruswamy, reported, "[M]any of New Delhi's 11 million residents are beginning to feel that greedy bus owners, reckless drivers and corrupt officials have created a lethal monster. 'Burn them, burn the buses,' one woman wailed on television after her child was run over by a bus. The buses bulldoze through traffic blasting horns that sound like express trains, pushing aside cars and motor scooters."[41] From the outset the death rate was high, feeding rapidly into a sense of the city descending into chaos. At the core of this was the public form of the motor accident. Here are two classic but typical stories from the local reporters of the *Times of India*. The first took place in October 2000, almost seven years after the *New York Times* report, while the Redline had since become the "Blueline."

> Sunday turned bloody red for Delhiites as its killer roads were witness to several gruesome accidents. A four-year-old boy and his 29-year-old mother were crushed under the wheels of a speeding truck in Welcome colony, north-east Delhi. An angry mob gathered in no time and set the truck on fire. The driver fled. The traffic police later caught up with his helper. At about 11.30 am on Sunday, the couple, Anil and Saroj Kumar, and their child Mukul, were going on a scooter from their Dilshad garden home towards the Inter-state bus terminus. A speeding truck hit the scooter from behind and the Kumar family was thrown off. Saroj and Mukul Kumar were catapulted towards the back wheels of the truck and were run over. They died on the spot. At the accident spot, an irate mob vented its anger by setting the truck bearing number DL 1G 3957 on fire. "It was a large crowd," said a policemen. "At least 600 people had gathered to avenge the killing of the four-year-old boy."[42]

Barely a month before, the *Times* reported that an accident had sparked a mini "riot" in East Delhi. Mohammad Hassan was returning home with a friend when a bus hit him. "But as soon as the news of Hasan's death reached his Jaffrabad neighborhood, hundreds of angry relatives and friends gathered at the spot and began stoning passing vehicles, demanding the arrest of the bus driver," the paper reported. As with the earlier incident, the driver was reported as "absconding." In the same report the paper quoted the police about the relationship between "reckless" driving and the absence of streetlights at night in many parts of the city.[43] Barely

four days before this story, the *Hindu* reported a "rampage" by high school students in South Delhi protesting against the death of their colleague.

> Virender Kumar, son of Ramesh Kumar and resident of Bhavishya Nidhi Enclave, was a student of class VI at the school, located near Shivalik in Malviya Nagar. His father is an employee at the Provident Fund Department. He was in the second shift which gets over at 5-30 p.m. As he came out to board a bus, a Blueline bus, plying on route No. 500 between Saket and Super Bazar, came. Virender ran towards the front entry with a heavy bag on his shoulder. He was on to the first step, when the driver abruptly started the vehicle, throwing him off balance. Virender fell on the road and did not have any time to move away from under the bus. Virender was rushed to All-India Institute of Medical Sciences where he was admitted at the Intensive Care Unit. He died this morning.[44]

Such stories (all within the space of a month) reflected a typical snapshot of the compression of untimely death experiences produced by bus accidents in the 1990s. The vividness of the detailing went into a "model" of the accident: the out-of-control bus or driver, resultant social disorder, missing drivers, the tragic death of innocents.

Narrated through accident stories, numbers, and tales of terrible death by uncontrolled machines and cruel drivers, the story of the accident drew attention to the human machine entanglement as a traumatic site of the city. Smashed and dented automobiles, fallen bodies, and the endless cycle of death became the everyday scene of a "wound culture."[45] The division between private loss and public tragedy got blurred, suggesting a traumatic collapse between inner worlds and public encounters.

Statistical Images

Statistical charts took pride of place in the reporting of accidents. Often bundled with the main story, statistical charts became a regular feature, drawing from databases on pollution, traffic, and road deaths. They sought to explain the contingency of death, often graphically narrated in the accompanying stories. The explanation through numbers took a radical step in the 1980s when *India Today* used desktop publishing software to produce 3-D images of numbers to great effect. With the spread of cheap computers and design software in the 1990s, the statistical image became ubiquitous, standing in as an explanation for the contingencies of elections, the weather, crime, and public opinion in general. The more unpredictable, dangerous, and contingent the urban experience became, the more widespread was the use of the statistical image as a knowledge form.

Multimedia design rendered an abstract knowledge form "readable" for a larger audience used to moving between different media environments. Allied with the idea of expert knowledge, and popularized by the digital interface, there is little doubt that statistics offers a significant response to the widespread anxiety and unpredictability of life in the postmodern era. Statistics, as Ian Hacking has shown us, was the nineteenth century's most powerful legacy, and the "avalanche of numbers" also assumed a certain marking of subjects. Those who conformed to the boundaries of statistical laws were "normal," while those on the periphery were seen as "pathological."[46]

Statistical explanations of the contingent in 1990s Delhi went far beyond nineteenth-century epistemology. As Lev Manovich has pointed out, the digital database is a cultural artifact; the use of graphical multimedia techniques has produced a variable product that can be transformed, manipulated graphically, and circulated endlessly.[47] Statistics as graphical *objects* were present in accident reports in the newspapers, television coverage, and massive digital signboards at the main traffic signals, which gave information on the number of people killed in traffic accidents along with air pollution figures. The newspaper image-graph followed the filmic sequence of a ticking time bomb, assaulting viewers with alarming statistical graphs. This went outside classic governmental concerns for defining personality types. Statistical objects as media pursued and penetrated the urban traveler in a never-ending *delirious* barrage, transforming the original optics of statistical epistemology. At one level the ubiquity of numbers in graphical interfaces attempted to naturalize the accident. At another level the sensational statistical graph fed an image of an out-of-control city. Its very structure of hypersensation-producing effects made the statistical media object's utility as an important knowledge form limited. Statistics as media was further compromised by an excessive circulation and a contradictory relationship with crash photographs in newspapers. Most importantly, the statistical explanation unintentionally drew attention to an injured public body, wounded by the contingency of death and gradual ecological decay.

The Rule of Experts

The idea of the road as a dangerous, polluting, and debilitating sensory environment projected the image of a damaged urban order under threat from untamed machines and driver-subjects. By the late 1990s, newer explanations of the urban crisis around the road emerged, centered on environmental advocacy groups, traffic management and safety experts, and public interest litigation in courts. The problem of the road was simply unregulated polluting buses that were faulty and accident-prone and Redline/

Blueline drivers who routinely drove recklessly. Scientific knowledge of the road, control of deviant machines and subjects through regulation, and driver/bystander education were the main keywords in the discourse of experts. These discourses radically changed the language of urban governance toward one centered on spectacular technics, media campaigns, and the classic deployment of numbers as an objective explanation for the crisis. Numbers, now transformed as media interfaces, accompanied expert reports and pronouncements. They were furthermore produced every day in the media on accidents, pollution levels, respiratory diseases, sourced from a wide plane of governmentality: NGOs, hospitals, specialist reports, and new databases. Writing in 2002 on cleanliness campaigns, Awadhendra Sharan noted the shift from the language of political society where the dignitary with the broom cleaned the streets.

> Instead, we find a new vocabulary on offer—pH levels, clean fuels, suspended particulate matter, common effluent treatment plants—these are the terms that increasingly saturate the media and public spaces around us, from billboards that provide information on SO2 levels, to weather reports that report on pollution across cities, to the legal discourse that relies on expert committees to guide them on technical matters. Objective science rather than an ambiguous political rhetoric, we argue, signals an important shift in our conceptual apparatus regarding environmental issues.[48]

The language of statistics and scientific rhetoric was produced in public campaigns and staged media events run by organizations adept at the new technologies of publicity. The campaign event was also produced around public interest litigation in the Supreme and High courts, and a barrage of interviews and reports in the media. The new discourse enacted and affirmed the idea of a civic subject that needed to be protected from a diseased political order, while seeking to restore to governmentality its true path: the idea of a rights-bearing liberal citizen. It was as if a failed citizenship, consumed by the ruin of political society in the "lost" decades after independence, could be reborn in the liberal civic order after globalization. The media campaigns around the road deployed typical global technologies of the civic: public release of all urban reports, cultivation of media personalities who represented "middle-class citizens," mailing lists and newsletters. In the case of road transport, the effort was twofold: to explain the contingency of death due to faulty machines and ill-trained drivers. Transport knowledge set up a detached space of observation from the accident itself, which became scientifically analyzable and preventable with correct machines and well-designed roads.

Liberal road reformers campaigned for special lanes for cyclists, speed flow design, new management techniques, and better public transport in

general.[49] While the pollution debate had set up the image of a vulnerable body under threat from emissions, the transport debate highlighted the *contingency and reversibility* of accidental deaths. Accidents could be prevented through lane driving ("sane" driving as the police billboards said), the implementation of speed governors in buses and speed limits in general, and intelligent management of traffic. Bus drivers, who were widely reported to be "uneducated" and often without a license, were sent to driving school, asked to don uniforms, and penalized for offenses.

Middle-class intervention was dynamized by a major accident in November 1997 that led to the death of twenty-eight schoolchildren. A private bus filled with children from the Shaheed Amar Chand Sarvodya Vidyalya fell into the Yamuna River after the driver smashed into the barriers on a bridge.[50] The ensuing days and months saw a crescendo of public criticism against the school and public authorities, bus drivers, and speeding machines. The following months saw every ingredient of 1990s road culture mobilized onto the public stage: frenzied media discussions and expert opinions, the gradual invisibility of the dead in the tragedy, the vulnerability of the body in speed culture. The significant intervention was an order of the Supreme Court immediately after the incident on November 1997. The judgment delivered by V. N. Khare and B. N. Kirpal was an example of the type of court order that refashioned the city from the 1990s. The wide-ranging order made speed governors compulsory in medium and heavy city vehicles, limiting speed to 40 km per hour; transport vehicles were forbidden from overtaking, roads were segregated, and buses confined to lanes. Buses could stop only at stops, and could be driven only by authorized drivers with photo identification. School buses could employ only drivers with five years of experience and without a history of traffic offenses, and uniforms were made compulsory.

These sweeping judgments suggest the remarkable confidence with which the courts began appropriating traditional areas of the political executive. While the power displayed by the court was transparent, what was remarkable was its own anxiety to be heard in the hyperstimulus of the city. This demand was appended to the judicial pronouncements. A judgment delivered on December 1, 1998, specified that buses should run in segregated lanes, with the justices also saying:

> We also direct that the Union of India shall ensure that the directions given by this Court on twentieth November, 1997: 16th December 1997 and 28th July, 1998 are suitably publicized in the print as well as in the electronic media so that everybody is made aware of the directions contained in our various orders. Publicity on the electronic media should be, to begin with, carried *on every alternate day, for at least six weeks*.[51]

The Event and the Decade of Fear

The late Jean Baudrillard famously proclaimed that the era of spectacle is behind us, as we now decisively live in a hyperreal world. For Baudrillard, spectacle belonged to the epoch of alienation, a modernist moment that has now decisively passed. With the new technologies of communication, we are beset with the endless erosion of all modern divisions of spectacle and surface, inner and outer space, what he calls a forced "extroversion of all interiority."[52] The legacy of the current epoch, says Baudrillard, "is the obscenity of the visible, of the all-too-visible, of the more-visible-than-the-visible."[53] While Baudrillard was criticized by many at the time, the conceptual echo of his ideas is remarkable. With the problem of the legibility of the Western city, the efflorescence of the digital media has fed the obituary of twentieth-century Western modernism.

The experience of Delhi in the 1980s and the 1990s certainly tells us that the twentieth-century script may be the wrong one to measure cities with. The decades saw the intermingling of media and urban worlds and a narcotic disorientation of the senses. As classic divisions were eroded, the newspaper headline, the court order, and statistics imaged a city out of control. It was an urban delirium that constantly exposed the fragility of institutions of power in the city in the 1990s.

By the end of the twentieth century the postcolonial city's wager on rational planning as well as its model of assimilated urban citizenship has come apart. The great terror of disorder and the psychic unknown of the nonrational has been propelled and unleashed because of globalization rather than being the residue of nonmodern pasts. While the language of expertise took this paranoid zone as a space for discursive intervention and enactment, events like the Monkeyman panic temporarily inscribed a new subaltern geography of fear. The events of April–June 2001 are a good example of this.

The Monkeyman stories threw into confusion both sites of sovereign and ideational power—the police and liberal media. Even as they pronounced a liberal-rational discourse of explanation in their editorials and their public statements, media and police tactics enacted and recognized the discourse of a new unexplainable evil in the city. Perhaps this suggests a more dynamic relationship between bodies, effects, and media, and the creation of productive situations of fear, which disrupt and even suspend the operations of routine power. What the events of summer 2001 show perhaps is the exact opposite of what was claimed by the police, the medical experts, and the media: rather than bodies eliminated/erased or produced by ceaseless information produced by television, the movement of bodies began to actually frame information effects, albeit for a short

period. This intensity of movement was mediated through phobic effects: fearful of space and yet disruptive of it. It was perhaps a fugitive counter-memory of those out of place in the city, akin to Walter Benjamin's idea of a dialectical image—the explosive, unexpected flash of a past, perhaps never to be seen again.

CHAPTER 9

Fear of the Past

POST-SOVIET CULTURE AND THE SOVIET TERROR

ALEXANDER ETKIND, KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

What we usually fear is the uncertainty of the future, but there are situations that make us fear the repetition of the past. Sigmund Freud began his famous essay, "The Uncanny" (1919), by disproving the idea that the uncanny is usually the novel and unfamiliar. In contrast, he argued, the uncanny is "something that was long familiar" but then "was estranged…through being repressed." This "element…that has been repressed and now returns" is uncanny and, moreover, frightening, writes Freud.[1] In his literary analysis of E.T.A. Hoffman and others, Freud emphasized the particular way of rendering the uncanny experience. These stories feature "severed limbs, a severed head, a hand detached from the arm," and other corporeal metonymies. The experience of the uncanny depends upon the lost and found members of human bodies, which are sometimes autonomous and sometimes incorporated into other, now monstrous, bodies. When a living or revenant part represents the perished whole, it feels uncanny. Freud's formulas defined the uncanny as a particular form of memory, one that is intimately connected to fear. The higher the energy of forgetting, the stronger the horror of remembering. The combination of memory and fear is, precisely, the uncanny.

Though losses may be massive, mourning is personal. Even so, collective rituals and cultural artifacts are critical for the process of mourning. Sharing sorrow with the community, burial rituals, and memorial monuments prevent mourning from developing into melancholy. In Freud's definition, melancholia is a pathologic state of memory that signals the failure of the work of mourning.[2] The inability to differentiate oneself from the lost object prevents the individual from living in the present, from love and work. As crystals of memory, monuments mark the border between the present and the past. They keep the uncanny where it belongs, in the grave. The anthropologist Katherine Verdery asserts that "in many human

communities, to set up right relations between living human communities and their ancestors depends critically on proper burials." Though it is never easy to learn which relations are "right," wrong relations are universally believed to be unfair to the dead and dangerous to the living. "Because the living not only mourn their dead but also fear them as sources of possible harm, . . . various parts of the funeral ritual . . . aim specifically to prevent a disgruntled soul from coming back."[3] Again, in this anthropological analysis of burial rituals, we watch the same connection between memory and fear that we saw in the psychological analysis of uncanny literature.

In the postcatastrophic condition, this connection between memory and fear is relevant for the analysis of a "second-generation memory," a memory of someone else's suffering, which Marianne Hirsch calls "postmemory." In her research on the postmemory of the Holocaust, Hirsch emphasizes the relevance of personal artifacts, such as photographs, family albums, and letters, for the memory of one's parents' and grandparents' experience.[4] Hirsch focuses on the contemporary descendants of the victims of the Nazi terror, who live nowadays in conditions that are vastly and admittedly different from the conditions in which their forebears lived and died. In the situation of such a radical difference between generations, postmemory becomes, indeed, an issue of mourning. If the difference between the catastrophic generation and their descendants is not so climactic; if the second and third generation live in the same territory where the catastrophe happened; if the political regime on this territory, even though having been changed after the catastrophe more than once, remains indistinct and ambiguous in its treatment of its catastrophic past; if the perpetrators were not condemned, the victims were not compensated, the criminal institutions were not banned, the monuments were not built—the postmemory of the catastrophe acquires intense and peculiar forms. In these conditions, memory of the past becomes indistinguishable from the obsessive fear of its repetition in the future, and mourning merges with warning. The fear of the future takes the shape of circular, compulsory, and not necessarily precise remembrances of the past. The concept of postmemory is not easily applicable to this situation because, strictly speaking, this is still not a *post*memory. Transforming time in a way that is typical for the post-traumatic condition, the fearful event, the subject of remembrance, continues into the present.

In the aftermath of social catastrophes,[5] mourning over real losses merges with an anticipation of new and imagined ones, creating a ghostly amalgam that resists conceptual analysis. It is not that fear *is connected* to memory in these situations; these cultural domains become literally *the same experience*. I would therefore propose a new concept, that of memory-dread, to designate this uncanny formation. In the post-Soviet economics

of memory, where the losses are massive and the monuments in short supply, the dead return as the undead. The innocent victims turn into uncanny monsters. There is nothing sentimental in this theater of memory, nor is it tragic. It is scary. Following Sigmund Freud, Walter Benjamin, and, most recently, Jacques Derrida, some scholars in sociology and cultural studies insist that "to study social life one must confront the ghostly aspects of it" and that "the task of the reader…is not to exorcise these ghosts but rather to learn to think through what they have given us to consider."[6] For a literary scholar, the undead are well known from Gothic and Victorian novels. They originate from the dead who were not properly buried; they are immortal, but some of them desire to be ritually killed and buried; they are inhuman monsters, though they have human-like abilities to reason and communicate; they are powerful, and they can successfully interfere in human affairs, known or unbeknownst to the humans concerned; they fight humans and one another, producing something like an otherworldly politics; and in a strange and perverted sense, they embody remains and they transfer memory.

Sociological polls show that Russians remember the Soviet terror fairly well. The question here is: Where are the energies of this memory, mourning, and fear channeled if the state blocks their materialization? If the American historian Stephen Kotkin perceives a "Shakespearian quality" in the post-Soviet transformation,[7] it is no surprise that the participating observers of this process employ equally dramatic metaphors, partially invented and partially imported, in their attempts to understand what has happened to their civilization. Though the leading cultural genres seem to be building on Gogol rather than on Shakespeare, post-Soviet culture has produced unusual, maybe even perverted, forms of fear-memory. Two mechanisms concur at this stage, the alienation of the past and the return of the repressed. As Walter Benjamin put it, "memory is not an instrument for exploring the past but its theatre.…He who seeks to approach his own buried past must conduct himself like a man digging."[8]

The fearful visions of post-Soviet writers, filmmakers, and intellectuals present a challenge to the culture critic. I interpret them as a territory of memory-dread, a space of the undead. Recognizing ghosts, spirits, vampires, dolls, and other man-made and man-imagined simulacra that carry the memory of the unburied Soviet dead, I develop a theory of cultural memory as consisting of monuments (hardware), texts (software), and specters (ghostware). These three elements of cultural memory are intimately connected. Usually, ghosts live in texts; sometimes, they inhabit cemeteries and emerge from monuments. Ghosts are close to texts and monuments but feature interesting qualities that one cannot reduce to either of them. In contrast to texts, ghosts are iconic; in contrast to monuments, they are ephemeral; and in contrast to both, they are uncanny.

In 1994, the debutant writer Victor Pelevin imagined a person who, "after reading some brochures," initiates perestroika in a typical Soviet town but soon falls "into the incomprehensible pit. There are half-rotten logs, skeletons of horses and humans, pieces of ceramics and ruined metal around. He is in the grave." He is a zombie who returns to the grave where he came from. A Soviet town rests on the remains of a camp: try to change it—and you are pulled into the gulag below. The emerging generation is permanently, though unconsciously, driven by its will-to-return to their imagined point of departure, which is the camp. Generalizing his tale, Pelevin interpreted the Soviet experience as zombification. Since they passed through a symbolic death and revival, the zombies were undead; so were those who passed through Soviet life, speculated Pelevin.[9] His provocative prose, which made use of all kinds of beasts, from insects to vampires, as metaphors for the insecure, fearful-of-the-past, post-Soviet kind of humanity, turned Pelevin into the leading Russian writer of the new millennium.

Some critics qualified Pelevin's fantasies as "postmodern irony," which, by these critics' definitions, has little to do with historical reality; but deadly serious discoveries and testimonies corroborate Pelevin's vision. To pick one example among many, in October 2007, Moscow construction workers who were building a luxurious business center about one hundred meters from Red Square and the Kremlin broke into a cellar where they found the remains of thirty-four men, women, and children, and a rusted handgun. In the 1930s, this building housed the Supreme Military Tribunal of the USSR; people were murdered in this cellar after they were tried upstairs.[10] The finding caused a sensation; the Moscow press named the place "the shooting room." Veniamin Iofe wrote that surviving in a Soviet camp was the symbolic death that always threatened to become real. Every personal survival was a return from the land of the dead; to Iofe, the collective post-Soviet transition was something similar.[11] A survivor of the late-Soviet imprisonment and a self-trained historian, Iofe became a leader of the Memorial Society, a voluntary association that aims at erecting monuments to the Soviet dead and, by doing so, protecting the living. The hope is that constructing the public memory of a catastrophe will ameliorate the private fear of its repetition. Monuments and rituals mark the border between the living and the dead in a way that is beneficial for the living.

Like monsters and specters, zombies are exemplary fearful creatures. However, they all embody different fears. While specters symbolize fear of death and monsters symbolize fear of the Other, zombies embody fear of the past. Viciously transformed doubles, zombies reify precisely that feeling, at once mystified and historicized, which is characteristic for many post-Soviet authors and readers. This is the unimaginably fearful history that cannot be successfully estranged, alienated, made foreign. These were stories, unbelievable as they were, that happened to "us" or our forebears,

people of our own kind. In our unrecognizable past, we caused these horrible events. Since there is no believable explanation for those transformations that happened then to people like us, there is no credible guarantee that similar transformations would not occur with us. Unburied and unexplained, the past retains its fearful presence. The past is perceived not just as "another country" but as an exotic and unexplored one, still pregnant with unborn alternatives, imminent miracles, and unrecognizable threats.

Unjustified Repression(s)

By historical standards, the Soviet catastrophe is recent and the memory of it fresh. In 1956, Nikita Khrushchev initiated his de-Stalinization campaign. To explain what had happened, he improvised a few concepts that are still in use.[12] As the idiom for mass murders, arrests, and deportations, he opted for "unjustified repressions." Always mentioned in the plural, this is a striking concept: a formula for senseless acts of violence that do not specify agency and therefore elude responsibility. "Unjustified repressions" means, exactly, self-imposed, meaningless social catastrophe.

There have been three stages in the Russian memory of these "repressions": denial, repression, and interpretation. Khrushchev's "revelations" of 1956 terminated the denial of "repressions," which had been the official policy for decades. The subsequent thirty years were marked by inconsistent moves that revealed as much as they obscured. Transferred from politics to culture, fear-memory became the most sensitive ideological issue of the regime. The 1970s–80s saw the veritable rise of a Memory War. Political dissidence and cultural achievement melded in such works of history and literature as *The Gulag Archipelago* by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn (published in the West in 1973 and in Russia in 1989) and *Life and Fate* by Vasilii Grossman (1980 and 1988). More than anything else, the Soviet regime's attempts to suppress its own history distanced the cultural elite. Playing with two meanings of "repression," the Soviet and historical on the one hand, and the Western and psychoanalytical on the other hand, I would call this dark period of memory "the repression of repressions." Starting from the Perestroika of the mid-1980s, new revelations documented the processes, institutes, and personalities of terror with unprecedented details. The facts are now believed to be largely known; it is their meaning that is the issue. The work of memory has reached its third stage, one of interpretation.

Current polls tell us that the denial of terror, which was practiced by the Soviet regime, is not popular in post-Soviet Russia; in contrast, Russians are increasingly engaged in reinterpretations of their past.[13] In 2007, Dina Khapaeva and Nikolai Koposov polled standard samples in Petersburg,

Kazan, and Ulianovsk. They report that 91.6 percent of Russians agree that "repressions" did take place in 1937 and 63.5 percent correctly believe that "dozens of millions of victims" suffered from these "repressions."[14] Leonid Byzov from the Russian Center of Public Opinion polled a national sample about what happened in 1937. Approximately half of the respondents mentioned repressions; the other half remembered nothing. According to this poll, about 20.1 percent of Russians recalled that their relatives were in the gulag. The majority of young Russians support the construction of monuments to these victims.[15] American sociologists Sarah Mendelson and Theodor Gerber had already sponsored a series of polls in Russia in 2003–5. In this survey, about 26 percent of young respondents reported that they had at least one relative who was "repressed" during the Soviet period.[16]

However, Russian and foreign scholars tend to grumble about the condition of memory in contemporary Russia. Many speculate about collective nostalgia and cultural amnesia, or notice the "cold" character of the memory of Soviet terror.[17] In my view, available surveys reveal the complex and ambivalent attitudes of a people who remember the Soviet terror well but are split in their interpretation of this memory. About half of Russians explain the Soviet terror as an exaggerated but rational response to actual problems that confronted the country. Many believe that the terror was necessary for the survival of the nation, its modernization, victory in the war, and so on. I call this strategy the sacrificial interpretation of terror. Ascribing meaning to mass murders, this operation converts victims into sacrifices and suicidal perpetrators into cruel but sensible strategists.

Far from demonstrating an outright denial of the Soviet catastrophe, the vast majority of Russians show knowledge of their recent history. In their attitude toward this history, they are split almost evenly. It is not the historical knowledge that is the issue but its interpretation, which inevitably depends upon the schemes, theories, and myths that the people receive from their scholars, artists, and politicians. In his novel *Justification* (2001), the flamboyant writer, poet, and media anchor Dmitrii Bykov presents a young Moscow historian, Slava Rogov. In a way that seems typical for the second generation after a catastrophe, Rogov is obsessed with his grandfather, who was arrested in 1938. Those "repressions" must have had some meaning, feels Rogov. Yearning to find him alive, Rogov develops an ingenious theory of Stalinism. He speculates that masses of people were subjected to unbearable suffering in order to select those few who were fit to survive it all. According to this theory, those who gave up under torture and confessed to invented crimes had betrayed Stalin and had to perish; those who resisted to the end were preserved, healed, and trained. Rogov believes that as operatives and leaders, these people changed the course of World War II and the Cold War.[18] Inspired by this theory, he travels to

Siberia in hope of finding his grandfather in a secret Soviet-style reservation. On his journey, he discovers a degenerating sectarian community, a sadomasochist resort, and finally a Siberian marsh, where he drowns himself.

In this fantasy, Bykov has grasped the nerve of post-Soviet memory. By creating a direct connection between grandsons and grandfathers, the fictional post-Soviet family renders the last Soviet generation irrelevant.[19] While the state is led by former KGB officers who avoid giving public apologies, building monuments, or opening archives, the struggling civil society and the intrepid reading public are possessed by the unquiet ghosts of the Soviet era. Nothing is more absurd and more terrifying than absurd terror. At the end of 2007, the Kremlin administration approved the guidelines for the new textbook of Soviet history. Describing Stalin's terror as "the price of the great achievements of the Soviet Union," Aleksandr Filippov's text states that the violence formed "a ruling elite of the utmost efficiency." Stalin's purges shaped "a new managerial class that was adequate to the tasks of modernization.…This class was unconditionally loyal to those in power. Its executive discipline was irreproachable."[20] This is the newest post-Soviet version of the "educational chain," which a scholar of French collective memory defines as the "continuum of policies and practices that link the highest offices of the state to the ordinary people in the classroom."[21] Essentially, the history textbook for Russian high schools presents as truth the same idea that Bykov's novel explored as a paranoiac delusion: that the mass violence of the early Soviet era helped to shape the New Soviet Man, the tortured Bolshevik version of the Übermensch.

The Melancholic Carnival

Two ghostly films mark the probable start and seeming end of the post-Soviet transition. In Tengis Abuldze's film *Repentance* (1984), which is now a classic, the female character digs up the corpse of the dictator who murdered her father, along with thousands of other victims. She goes to trial but does not repent: she would do it three hundred times again, she declares. She does need to do it again and again; the heirs of the dictatorship bury the corpse of the dictator every time that the heir of the victim exhumes the corpse. As in Sophocles' *Antigone*, the perpetually moving corpse begets new tragedies; in this case, the grandson of the dictator kills himself.[22] However, the ethical message of the film, the responsibility of the corpse and the right of revenge on the part of the living, was rarely disputed. In the recent *The Living* (directed by Aleksandr Veledinskii, 2006), a Russian soldier of the Chechen War, Kir, is rescued by his comrades who die in action. On his way home from the war, Kir murders his officer and

betrays his bride. He does not care; he is possessed by the ghosts of his lost comrades, who come to him alive though other people do not see them. When Kir and his ghostly companions go to Moscow, what they (and the viewers) actually see is the burial monument to Stalin near the Kremlin Wall. The movie ends with Kir's visit to an abandoned cemetery where he hopes to find his friends buried like heroes. Trying to find these graves, the soldier dies; immediately, he joins the company of his ghostly fellows. The multiple tricks that the dead play with the living in this film force the viewer to suspect that the soldier was probably dead from the very beginning; perhaps all or a large part of what we saw actually happened to his ghost.

In the 1980s, it seemed that the most important thing to do was to punish the dead dictator and, in this way, to restore justice posthumously; twenty years later, the living are still struggling with the authorities, with the result that their unburied dead are friends, not foes. The early post-catastrophic culture attributed the actual problems of the present to the dead corpses of the past. Now this culture is more eager to see the present: there are enemies who are alive and deserve death, but there are also friends who are dead and need to be buried. Both films play on the uncanny effects of communication between the living and the dead; but while *Repentance* celebrated the turn of generations, the trial of memory, and historical time, *The Living* deconstructs the meaning of death in an obsessive way that makes time cyclical and history irrelevant. Still hopeful for the future, *Repentance* argued for a new ethical order that would include dead corpses in its scope. Self-censoring any sign of hope, *The Living* shows the ghostly nature of post-traumatic consciousness, which obscures the very difference between the living and the dead in a way that is detrimental to ethical order. The post-Soviet trial *of* the dead turns into the New Russian mingling *with* the dead.

In the Vienna of World War I, Freud distinguished between "healthy" mourning and "pathological" melancholia, basing this distinction on the subject's ability to acknowledge the reality of the loss. In Freud's logic, if the loss is not recognized, it is repressed; when repressed, it turns into new and strange forms; from then on, it threatens to return as the uncanny. The failure to recognize death as death produces the uncanny; when the dead are not properly buried and mourned, they turn into the undead. Refusal to recognize the reality of the loss produces the ghostly imagery. However, in the historical situation in which the beloved person disappears for reasons that nobody understands; in which she may be alive and might possibly, miraculously return; in which no information about the loss is available or trustworthy—Freud's clinical distinction between "healthy mourning" and "pathological melancholia" should be modified.[23] In this situation, uncertainty was external and realistic rather than internal and pathological. In

an indefinitely large part of the Soviet experience, death could not be recognized as death, and survival could not be relied upon as life. The state, the source of repressions, was also the only source of information. Millions were convicted for long terms "with no right of correspondence"; no information was received from them for years or decades. As we know now, some of these victims were murdered immediately after their false arrest and sentencing, and some of them died later in the camps. A segment of the victims, however, returned from the camps. Sometimes it happened earlier and sometimes later than their sentences expired. The sentence had little or no predictive value. De jure as well as de facto, the Soviet condition did not provide reality checks for either hope or mourning. Since there was no certainty of loss, there was no opportunity for healthy mourning.

In the Moscow of World War II, Mikhail Bakhtin distinguished between the boring, everyday life of mortal humans and the rare outburst of the collective, eternal body of the people that he called carnival. The structural oppositions that make life human, such as the one between the powerful and subaltern, and between the living and the dead, are all superseded in this carnival. Though Bakhtin is most commonly read in a populist manner that celebrates the earthly life of a living collective, his studies are also infused with symbols of death. Like a funeral repast or a Halloween party, Bakhtin's carnival combines eating, drinking, and socializing with an intense, sorrowful imagery of death. When Bakhtin started his seminal book on carnival, he was a political exile who had escaped the Solovetsky camp because of his poor health and influential protectors, and had watched genocidal famine in Kazakhstan that was a result of collectivization. Reading Bakhtin along with Agamben, I see a deep resemblance in the grotesque, paradoxical visions of both authors. Agamben chose an ancient parable of *Homo Sacer* to epitomize the bare life of an individual victim of the Nazi terror, one who could be killed but not sacrificed because he had no value. For the bare life of a collective victim of the Soviet terror (a party cell, a collective farm, a camp barrack), in which humiliation, fear, and inescapable repression worked as omnipotent equalizers, Bakhtin chose a Renaissance parable. In this vision, the poor wear the masks of the rich and the living wear the masks of the dead.

Living a typical life of the Soviet victim, but reading Rabelais and writing about the European Renaissance, Bakhtin produced an immensely rich document of melancholia. In this respect, the closest parallel to Bakhtin is the art of Boris Sveshnikov (1927–1998) who, working in a Soviet camp and after his release, put the uncanny images of the gulag in a universal, historicized background borrowed from Spanish and Flemish art. Like the writer Varlam Shalamov, Sveshnikov tells the story of the camps from the perspective of a dying victim—the *soon-to-be-dead*, as these people were called in Soviet camps However, Sveshnikov's elaborate representations

of the camp, and the world, are profoundly different from the minimalist stories by Shalamov. Drawing scenes of life in the arctic camps with a fine pencil, Sveshnikov relies on the artistic traditions of Pieter Breugel and Alexander Benois. In literature, Sveshnikov is closer to Andrei Siniavskii, who also combined in his novels mourning, fear, and magic; but in his choice of historical metaphors, Sveshnikov is really close to Bakhtin. There are very few people in these landscapes; the camps are cold, inhuman, and strangely elegant. This is bare life in the style of the Russian intelligentsia. Deprived of their local roots and hopes, these people longed for the world culture even in their terminal condition. Unlike Osip Mandelstam, another soon-to-be-dead who did not survive the camps, Sveshnikov lived long enough to find his communion with world culture. Released in 1954, he illustrated uncanny German tales by Hoffman, Goethe, and the Brothers Grimm; frozen woods and Gothic castles in his illustrations resemble versions of the camps. He also painted large canvases in which he managed to produce the most memorable visual image of a soon-to-be-dead. Lying in coffins but making their last attempts to look at the world and remember it, these pale, exhausted bodies retain color and energy in their wretched, erect penises. Sveshnikov's art makes a brave statement about life on the edge of death. Rescued by a Latvian prisoner and then by an American collector, a large part of Sveshnikov's work is kept now in Zimmerli Museum in New Brunswick, New Jersey.

Manifesting its refusal to distinguish between the surviving and the lost, spectral, carnivalesque dynamics of the postcatastrophic melancholia permeate the post-Soviet literature and cinema. The recent film *4* (2005), directed by Ilia Khryzhanovskii and based on the script by the leading, scandalous author Vladimir Sorokin, starts with a bizarre conversation in a Moscow nightclub. We watch a group of random bar hoppers; their bodies, outfits, and drinks look perfectly modern and global, but they focus their verbal exchange on memories and fantasies about the Soviet past. Indeed, they are totally dependent on this past. One man is a professional trader of the frozen meat that was preserved by the Soviet military decades ago but still feeds the Muscovites. Another, a musician, gets into a police plot that accuses him of a murder; soon he finds himself in the gulag-style camp, where he entertains prisoners by singing folk songs and, in the next turn of events, marches to his death in the "hot spot," most probably in the Caucasus. But it is the trip of the third bar hopper, a prostitute, deep into the Soviet-time wasteland, that gradually becomes the point of the film. The girl attends the funeral of her twin sister or, actually, a clone, who lived in a community of abandoned females who manufacture dolls of bread that they chew, shape, and bake. The dolls look like the dead corpses of men, whom these females keep as substitutes for male partners. They play, drink alcohol, and have sex with these dolls. The oral process of manufacturing

these dolls matches the infantile, oral behavior of old crones who drink, eat, and sing with a primordial energy. Watching an orgy produced by these doll makers, we learn nothing about their men who are now substituted by dolls. The surrogate bodies of new partners dislocate memory. Turning into a feast, mourning is emptied of remembrance. The recognizably post-Soviet game of symbolic substitution amounts to a genre that has been largely unknown—a melancholic carnival.

Creating a world of eerie simulacra, the dolls must be buried. Interrupting the orgy, dogs devour some of the dolls. In another climactic moment, the only vital character, the prostitute, burns the bread corpses on the grave of her sister in a gesture of despair and triumph. This is a spectacular parable of the post-Soviet memory that produces the undead, cherishes them, and, in rare acts of heroism, buries them. In this film, dogs play almost as active a role as people. Dogs accompany the live characters and, in a major feat, devour the undead ones. The film starts with a memorable scene of homeless dogs in the midst of Moscow reconstruction; it ends with a car accident caused by a dog who kills an unfortunate character, the meat trader.

In Slavic folklore, dogs, wolves, and werewolves were believed to be the worst enemies of vampires. The unburied turns into a vampire unless he or she is eaten by wolves.[24] The endurance of the homeless dogs contrasts with the exhausted, vulnerable humanity of the post-Soviets who are still not able to abandon their Soviet home. Dogs attack everyone in this film but the vital female who, together with dogs, destroys the human-made specters. Culminating in the success of the Russian performance artist Oleg Kulik who plays a barking and biting dog in his installations,[25] the unusual role that dogs and similar creatures play in post-Soviet culture deserves study. In Vladimir Sorokin's novels, the "oprichniki," that is, agents of the security service of the near-future Russia, daily fix frozen dog heads to the bumpers of their fancy Chinese-made cars. In Viktor Pelevin's *Holy Book of Revenant* (2004), the narrator is an immortal fox who can turn into a woman at will. Working as a prostitute in Moscow, she meets a werewolf who works there as a general of the secret police. Shaken by love, the vigorous wolf is reduced to a dog; at this moment we learn that this general's name is actually Sharikov (name of the semidog, semihuman character of Mikhail Bulgakov's *Heart of a Dog*, 1925). From time to time, General Sharikov travels to the North where, among the abandoned camps, he growls at the exhausted oil wells, begging them to produce oil.

In his more recent novel, *Empire V* (2006), Pelevin depicts vampires who rule Russia. The subtitle of this book is *The Tale of a Real Superman*, which alludes to Nietzsche's *Zarathustra* and Boris Polevoi's *Tale of a Real Man* (1946), a Soviet classic. The narrator is a young Muscovite, Roman/Rama, whom vampires prepare for the role of a demonic post-Soviet ruler.

In contrast to ancient vampires who sucked human blood, modern vampires are dairy farmers who milk their cattle, humans, for an elixir that is called "bablos." (Pelevin derives this term from the slang word that means money and whores.) Initiated by a bite of his predecessor, Rama learns two arts of power, "glamour" and "discourse." At times turning into a bat, at times presiding over a meeting of oligarchs who collect the tribute from humans to pass it to vampires, Rama is confused. However, he finds consolation in the idea that his new vampiric identity is no more surprising than his earlier transfiguration from a Soviet child into post-Soviet man: "It was really strange when the epoch ended but the people stayed where they were….The world became entirely different. There was something insane in it."[26] Quoting from Bram Stoker and paraphrasing Franco Moretti, characters discuss the vampiric nature of money in terms that sound unmistakably Marxist.[27] Unfortunately, this language helps vampires to establish their power over humans but does not help humans banish vampires.

Based on the trilogy by Sergei Lukianenko, a psychiatrist from Kazakhstan, the fantasy thriller *Night Watch* documents the public infatuation with vampires.[28] Set in twenty-first-century Moscow, this film presents an enormous taxonomy of immortal beasts. While vampires rule Russia, humans are entirely deprived of self-control and political life. As in a camp, Muscovites are reduced to bare life, essentially to the position of the vampires' cattle. What matters is not happening here and now; it all happened in the past. The imagined past, strange and great, determines the actual, pathetic present. The film shows the battle between "eternal light and dark forces" as a conflict between two armed mafias who fight for the right to license vampires' bloodsucking activities. Probably, what is actually at stake here is the human duty to give humans their last rites and, therefore, to prevent the multiplication of vampires.

The Returned and the "Repressed"

The story of a father's arrest and return, a son's guilt and fear, and the resulting fantasy is intensely developed in what is arguably the most important film about Stalin's Russia, *Khrustalev, mashinu* (Khrustalev, My Car!), by Alexei German (1998). Critics have argued that this film possesses a "disorientating quality" and that different parts of this complex film work in different ways, as if its narrator and characters have no internal consistency.[29] In my reading of this film, it conflates the memory of the perished father with the fantasy of his eventual return so that memory becomes fictional, reality unreachable, and longing uncanny. The story of loss, return, and misrecognition plays the focal role in this imagery.

The narrator, Alexei Glinskii, is twelve years old during the action of the film but in the time of telling of his story is an aged man. His tired voice sporadically comments on the film's action, but we never see him as an adult. From time to time, the film comments on the difference between what Alexei saw and understood then, and what Alexei saw then but understood only much later. On the screen in the beginning of the film, Alexei is a boy. He tells and shows us his childhood and his father. Later we see large chunks of the action that Alexei could not possibly have seen. He is the narrator of the story but not its witness or cameraman. The film is not shot from his point of view; rather, it unfolds his mourning memory, transcends its limits, and reconstructs the melancholic, delusional fantasy that transcends the work of mourning. Alexei realizes his power to combine what he saw and what he imagined in one complex narrative. Unfolding this narrative before our eyes, he combines his unbridled fantasy with historical facts. He is making truth claims and substantiates them with abundance of believable details but, in the final account, dissolves them in wishful fiction. Alexei Glinskii hopes his father will come home and invents ways that would make this return possible. He shows this return as it could actually happen. He also deconstructs this story of survival and return by strange events that prevent the father from returning or, alternatively, make the returning man different from the father.

In brief, the film is the story of the arrest of Alexei's father, General Glinskii. It is set in 1953, immediately before and after Stalin's death. Running his military hospital at the time of the "Kremlin doctors' plot," General Glinskii foresees his imminent arrest.[30] In an unusual attempt to help him, a Swedish socialist comes to Moscow to send a message from Glinskii's brother, a Stockholm professor. While Glinskii seemingly ignores the message, the Swede is murdered by secret agents who shadow Glinskii. In his attempt at salvation, Glinskii selects one of his patients, who is physically similar to him, to remain at the hospital as his double. But the patient does not collaborate; for this and other reasons, the plan is evidently unfeasible. Still, Glinskii flees, eluding his pursuers and leaving his wife a note. His apartment is immediately searched by secret agents. One of them asks Alexei to report on his father if he comes home; Alexei agrees. Suddenly, he sees his father in his study. It is actually Glinskii's double, his patient from the hospital, who is brought to Glinskii's home by the agents.[31] Since Alexei could not possibly know about events in the hospital and Glinskii's preparation of the double, he takes him for his father.

Glinskii is soon captured by those whom he earlier managed to trick. He is put into a covered truck with other prisoners, who, in a long scene, gang rape him. Competing with the staircase scene of mass murder in Sergei Eisenstein's *Potemkin*, this scene of the rape of a big, powerful man is one the most horrifying in Russian cinema. Postcatastrophic poetics

necessarily entails such scenes of memory or fantasy, which do not just tell about fear in the past but also cause fear in the present. Addressing the literary imagination of the Holocaust, Michael Rothberg coined the concept of "traumatic realism." Such a realism does not reflect a traumatic past in the act of passive mimesis but "produces" traumatic events in order to transform a reader or a spectator, forcing him or her to develop his or her own attitude toward "post-traumatic culture."[32] After his rape, the bleeding and vomiting Glinskii is suddenly taken by a new group of officials, which includes his double. They wash Glinskii, dress him in a uniform, and then bring him to the dying Stalin. Unable to do anything, he helps Stalin to die. In gratitude, Lavrentii Beria releases Glinskii, who returns home to his family. Upon seeing his father, Alexei calls the police to denounce him. Weeping, Glinskii leaves his family. "I never saw my father again," reports the voice of the aged Alexei behind the screen. In the final frames, we see Glinskii as a train conductor. Importantly, his train carries people who have been released from the dissolved camps. Drinking, working out, and playing tricks, Glinskii seems as comfortable in his new circle of manual workers and prostitutes as he was among generals and academicians. He has changed, but we recognize him. However, from Alexei we know that his father never returned. If Alexei had never seen his father after his attempt to denounce him in 1953, it means that everything that happened to his father after their last and tragic meeting is a fantasy rather than remembrance. In a sensible way, the narrative of the film unfolds from the pole of memory to the pole of fantasy. In other words, the first part of the film, with the communal apartment, psychiatric hospital, and Swedish socialist, comes from Alexei's memory and claims to be true. The second part of the film, with the rape of the father, the dying Stalin, and the father working as a conductor, is a tale of imagination. It is a post-Soviet meditation on the Soviet past, which mixes the desperate feeling of inferiority before this past and the equally obsessive fear of its repetition.

Immediately after the title, the film opens with a scene of the wet dream of the twelve-year-old; laundering his underpants, he looks in the mirror and spits at his reflection. "It's me," comments his voice forty-five years later with a hint of regret. After that and for a few hours, we watch the father enjoying himself with power, cognac, women, physical exercise, and funny tricks. The work of mourning for the lost father unfolds along with the exposure of the son's pubescent rivalry with the father. Combined with the early loss of the father, this rivalry converts into the son's recognition of his ultimate, unredeemable feebleness.

The distance between Alexei Glinskii, the narrator of the film, and Alexei German, its creator, is intentionally short. Alexei bears German's name and corresponds in age. He also shares German's fascination with the father figure. German's previous film, *My Friend Ivan Lapshin* (1984),

is based on novels that were written by Alexei German's father, the writer Iurii German (1910–1967). Set at the time of his father's youth and in his household, this film depicts the Soviet secret police of the 1930s. With some nostalgia, the imagined father's aged voice introduces his fictional narrative behind the screen. *Khrustalev, My Car!* presents the son who watches and imagines his father as a victim of the secret police, while *My Friend Ivan Lapshin* presents a father who watches these police and identifies with them; in a sense, the former works as an inversion of the latter. In *Khrustalev, My Car!* the father is a dazzling general, military neurosurgeon, and alcoholic. His huge body, beautiful uniform, faultless competence, and success among women provide striking contrast to his son's adolescent ordeals. As happens in mourning, the explorative work of memory develops along with emotional submission to the lost object.

Alexei German's memory reconstructs the miserable and chaotic life of the Soviet 1950s. A large part of the film shows unmotivated outbursts of aggression, which the exhausted, frightened adults direct onto each other and Alexei. His mother participates in this; his father does not. In the hysterical world of Stalinism, Alexei remembers his father as the embodiment of sanity and masculinity. At the same time, this memorial image is highly tragicomic and uncanny. In a long close-up at the beginning of the film, we watch the tense face of General Glinskii upside down while doing a gymnastic exercise. In the last frame of the film, we see him, also in a long close-up, balancing a glass of wine on the top of his head. What we find in this amazing, unsettling film is a collection of self-conscious fantasies about the lost father that are told and shown by the son who still feels grief, guilt, and admiration many decades after his father has perished.

Though many of Alexei Glinskii's experiences and fantasies are idiosyncratic, the hyperbolized perception of the lost father summarizes the son's feelings of inferiority, which are typical for the generation of the Thaw. On the other hand, this Hamletian theme is common for narratives of mourning; in Russian literature, examples are Vladimir Nabokov's *Gift* (1938), Andrei Bitov's *Pushkin's House* (1978), and Dmitrii Bykov's *Justification* (2001). (Interestingly enough, in the last two examples the adored figure is a grandfather rather than father.) Adoring their lost fathers and grandfathers and desperately believing in their survival, the younger generation engage in unbridled fantasies about heroic adventures that would bring salvation and the return of their fathers.

In Alexei's narrative, the uncertainty of Glinskii's fate is additionally complicated by the story of his double. Alexei saw his father two times after his arrest: the first time it was his double, then it was his father. If he should see Glinskii again, how could he know it was his father? Referring to the uncanny doubles of Gogol's and Dostoevsky's stories who subverted the sacred order of the bureaucratic world, this surprising double in the

midst of the Soviet terror plays an entirely different role. Having created his double, Glinskii could possibly escape and survive. On the other hand, the existence of the double discredits any possible evidence of Glinskii's survival that could come from the elusive world of the gulag. Multiplying Alexei's uncertainty, his father's double works as a powerful trope that suggests the incomprehensibility of terror. This double subverts Alexei's melancholic fantasies with permanent doubt: What if the surviving Glinskii whom Alexei imagines is actually the double? Relatively insignificant in comparison with the stories of the rape of his father and his father's healing of Stalin, the fantasy of the father's double unfolds the fundamental uncertainty of Alexei's hopeful imagery.

Evidently, the boy's adoration of his father does not stop with his disappearance and with the son's betrayal. In fact, the reverse seems to be the case. The more guilt the son feels, the more remarkable an image of his father he produces. The nightmarish scene of the gang rape destroys the father's dignity precisely in the area in which the son adored and envied him most of all, the area of masculinity. Though the scene of the father's rape is Alexei's fantasy, it is an extreme, though not improbable, version of the events that could have happened to the father after his arrest. Horrifying as it is, it is not crueler or more senseless than myriads of the Soviet stories of investigative torture, fights between "political" and "criminal" prisoners, or the suffering of the "soon-to-be-dead."

The cheerful picture of Glinskii balancing on the shaky train car with the glass of wine on top of his head leaves Alexei and the viewer with the open end that everyone needs. If, after all, Glinskii is still eager to perform his tricks, Alexei can keep waiting for him indefinitely. But actually we, the viewers, believe in something different: not that the image of the living and playful Glinskii is true, but that Alexei, now in his sixties, cherishes this fantasy as the dearest part of his inner life. A part of this beloved image is strange, estranged, or uncanny. There is a strong, almost unbearable concentration of anal processes in this film, from the fascinating demonstration of the logistics of toilet usage in a communal apartment, to the sounds of flatulence that many of the characters produce in their permanent attempts to threaten and humiliate others, to Stalin's inflated stomach and mortal fart, which is shown in detail as Glinskii's therapeutic success, to the violation of Glinskii's anus and his subsequent bleeding, suffering, and futile self-help, to the repetitive complaints of Stalin's internal security at Glinskii's offensive smell.

Exploring sensory domains that are entirely new to Russian cinema, German forcefully provokes in his viewer responses of unusual intensity. Beginning with Alexei's wet dream, the film culminates in his intense fantasies of his father's (and Stalin's, the father of the people) anal pains, sounds, and smells. A psychoanalyst would argue that this dynamic, from

the genital to the anal, is regressive, and is a reasonable outcome of the trauma that Alexei experiences. However, Alexei's struggle for memory follows different rules; the sensory intimacy of these scenes brings Alexei into closer contact with the memory of his father than any other detail could. It also induces a physical sense of fear and revulsion in the viewer.

Magical Historicism

From the start, the cultural representation of the gulag has been imbued with strange creatures. Everyone remembers the amazing start of Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago*, with the story of a delicious frozen beast, a prehistoric triton (in English translation, salamander) that is devoured by prisoners. With the help of this triton, Solzhenitsyn presents the mission of his great book in strikingly ambiguous words. He wishes to render the camp not "as a nightmare to be cursed" but "as a monstrous world" to be "almost" loved; he hopes to bring this world to the startled reader "like the bones and flesh of that salamander which is still, incidentally, alive." The mythological Triton has a man's head, fish's tail, and conch shell to raise storms, as Solzhenitsyn did. As an oceanic beast, Triton is, I would add, a distant relative of the Leviathan.[33]

In the twenty-first century, Solzhenitsyn's literary "grandsons" produced a variety of strange animals, monsters, and modified humans. The fantasies of fashionable post-Soviet authors such as Victor Pelevin, Vladimir Sorokin, Vladimir Sharov, and Dmitrii Bykov are unlimited, but their actual themes overlap. They seem to be mostly interested in two areas of human experience, religion and history, which they combine in rich and shocking ways. At the same time, they are not concerned about other areas of literary interest, such as psychology or social analysis. The religion that they explore is sometimes Christian and sometimes not, but it is never orthodox and usually does not belong to any known confession. Invariably, it is saturated with noncanonical magic. The historical periods that these writers are interested in are less variegated; almost always, they focus on the Soviet experience and its aftermath. These are stories about werewolves and vampires (Pelevin); about sectarians who copulate with the soil and biophilologists who clone the great Russian writers to extract the substance of immortality (Sorokin); about the eternal Madame de Staël, who lives in Russia and sleeps with its most important figures including Stalin, who is also her son (Sharov); and about the twenty-first-century war and miscegenation between "the Vikings," "the Khazars," and the degenerating local population (Bykov).[34]

"The only pleasure the melancholic permits himself, and it is a powerful one, is allegory," said Walter Benjamin.[35] The post-Soviet excess in

manufacturing historical allegories needs a qualification. In contrast to Latin-American Magical Realism, the post-Soviet novel does not emulate social reality and does not compete with the psychological novel. What it emulates, and struggles with, is history. In Vladimir Sharov's esoteric novel *Then and Before* (1995), the long-living Madame de Staël resides in the Soviet madhouse together with the fin-de-siècle philosopher Nikolai Fedorov and a covey of old Bolsheviks. As the narrator records the oral history of these strange survivors, an apocalyptic flood drowns Moscow. A trained Soviet historian who refashioned himself into a post-Soviet writer, Sharov describes his credo: "The history which I learned was not the history of humans. It was the history of hectares, crops, financial flows.…It was entirely foreign to me.…I am trying to understand what the revolution was,…why the people who had beautiful dreams committed monstrous crimes."[36] For some readers, Sharov's, Sorokin's, or Pelevin's novels give clearer answers to these questions than social history does.

Possessed by the ghostly past and unable to withdraw from its repetitive contemplation, post-Soviet writers find themselves trapped in a state of melancholia. At the same time, their readers celebrate an unprecedented consumer boom but feel the loss of the political opportunities they recently enjoyed. The culture critic Grigorii Revzin described the situation in political rather than clinical terms: "The past knows the subjunctive mood only if the present does not.…If the present is what you cannot change, the past becomes what you can change in every possible way."[37] When politics does not provide alternatives, historiography offers them in abundance. Benjamin juxtaposed traditional historicism and "historical materialism," which, in combination with theology, would "explode the continuum of history."[38] Ironically, what Benjamin wanted from historical materialism is fulfilled by Magical Historicism. However, it does have critical potential. In 2002, the pro-Putin youth movement "Going Together" (which in its own turn is a historicist replica of the Soviet Komsomol) publicly destroyed copies of Sorokin's *Blue Fat* by disposing of them in a giant commode in the center of Moscow (which recalls Marcel Duchamp). Set in the future, *Blue Fat* tells the story of an elixir that the monstrous clones of great Russian writers, from Tolstoy to Nabokov, produce when writing. This "blue fat" promises immortality. Exotic Russian sectarians of the future steal this substance from the Russian-Chinese scientists who produce and milk the clones. Using a time machine, sectarians send this elixir to Stalin, who is presented here as the lover of Khrushchev. Finally, we see the immortal Stalin as a servant to one of the pathetic masters of the future. Concluding pages drop a hint that Stalin is, in fact, the narrator of the story. Changing its focus from invented communities to pseudohistorical personalities and back, this exemplary novel combines many features of Magical Historicism: unmotivated distortions of history, semihuman monsters, manipulations

of the body, fantastic cults, circular time, and the resulting interpenetration of epochs. In a strange way that was, however, available to the semieducated members of Going Together, this novel sent a political message that was aggressively critical toward Putin's Russia.

While dehumanization can take various forms and steps, exploiting humans as animals is one of them; the conversion of humans into monsters is probably the next one. The gulag effectively reduced humans to working animals; starting with Solzhenitsyn's triton and Vladimov's dog, the gulag's memory in literature has used the personification of animals to tell a story of inhuman suffering. In the early attempts at realistic representation, these animals were put into the position of witnesses, more reliable ones than humans on either side of the fence. In the later spirit of Magical Historicism, these characters have developed into monsters that embody the horror of the Soviet period better than either humans or animals. This memorial culture is not so much postmodern as it is, precisely, post-Soviet.

CHAPTER 10

White Hajjis

DUTCH ISLAMOPHOBIAS PAST AND PRESENT

MICHAEL LAFFAN, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

Fears Past Present

Despite its very recent appearance as a term, Islamophobia is often held to be as old as Islam itself, and utterly embedded in the broader Western experience with the "Orient." Taking the Crusades as their starting point, today's outspoken representatives of supposedly primordial national values (inflected by a Judeo-Christian inheritance) claim to rejoin a battle against foes whose motivation, features, and dress seem utterly antithetical to their own, and whose alleged goal is ultimately global subjugation under a "fascist" order that seeks to bind all to *shariʿa* law.[1]

Elements of the Right and Left of America and Europe are in agreement with this vision, making strange bedfellows to say the least. Still, setting aside the purely polemical comparison of Islam with National Socialism, one can safely say that there is now no angstworthy Islamic power that can compare with the global reach of the Abbasid Caliphate in the eleventh century, or yet the Ottoman Empire of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which was arguably so crucial to shaping early modern notions of Europe as the exclusive domain of Christendom. Regardless of the rhetoric of both Right and Left, it is the West that is still so clearly aligned with global Empire, and with technological might symbolized by advanced avionics and security systems. So what do its peoples have to fear?

The answer, it seems, is that Islam is now among "us" as a result of a great and unfortunate commingling of incompatible civilizations that should only clash according to one oft-cited formulation that owes its genesis to an article on "the roots of Muslim rage." As some self-appointed standard-bearers of Western civilization aver, "their" mosques are on "our" turf (a portion of which has been declared "hallowed ground" much in the way that Osama bin Laden claimed the entire Arabian Peninsula in the 1990s), and Islam's inherently angry adherents ride with us on "our" trains, share "our" roads, "our" labors and meals.[2]

The ambient mistrust created by such rhetoric is further nurtured by a profound ignorance—of Islam, "its" (always opposed to "our") history, and of what all Muslims supposedly feel in their heart of hearts, whether they are the supposedly the "good" kind that "we can deal with" or of the "bad" variety that challenges or threatens "our way of life." Islam is coded as the hostile, and inherently violent, faith of individuals whose loyalty to their new and putatively unnatural environments is constantly called into question.[3]

As is already clear, then, Islamophobia finds a ready audience in the market of public opinion. In the United States in particular, xenophobic statements about Muslims as backward misogynists and sociopaths seldom gain the censure one would expect were any other race, religion, or sexual orientation to be the social group so described. In response to the anti-Muslim invective that has accumulated over the past decade, *Time* magazine asked whether the United States was inherently Islamophobic.[4]

This challenges a foundational myth of American tolerance, given that the United States has so often been declared a natural refuge for free thought with reference to an imagined experience of the Founding Fathers. This is to be highlighted in sharp contrast to the European experience, whose wars of intolerance effectively gave America much of its intellectual lifeblood. In some respects it is all the more ironic that this nation of immigrants has had such a conflicted history of xenophobia and jingoism, and still contains a minority who question the national bona fides of their own president.

Rather than recapitulating the list of the usual suspects among the conspiracy theorists, or those whose brows furrow at the thought of Barak Obama's having spent his early years in the Muslim-majority nation of Indonesia, we should perhaps turn back to the fraught and fractured Europe for insights into this question. More specifically, as a means of testing how this fear may or may not be so new, it would be instructive to consider comparable incarnations of Islamophobia expressed by adventurers and stay-at-homes from the Netherlands, the country that laid out the territorial logic of Indonesia that seems so natural to its majority-Muslim citizenry today. In fact, it is in the Netherlands, a prosperous nation with a sizable Muslim minority, that we find an exemplary fellow traveler of the American Islamophobes in Geert Wilders, the self-appointed political heir to the murdered filmmaker Theo van Gogh (1957–2004).[5]

The Forgotten Past

> Wilhelmus van Nassouwe
> ben ik, van Duitsen bloed,
> den vaderland getrouwe
> blijf ik tot in den dood.

William of Nassau
Am I, of German blood
To the fatherland loyal
I remain until death.[6]

Standing at podiums with his shock of platinum hair—including at a 2010 commemoration of the September 11 attacks that was designed to thwart the opening of an Islamic center near the "hallowed" Ground Zero—Geert Wilders has warned of the inundation of his fatherland, and indeed mother Europe, by Islam. Quoting Mayor Michael Bloomberg's observation the previous month that New York is a city whose openness is "rooted in Dutch tolerance"—a quality Bloomberg felt should apply as much to Muslims as it ultimately had to Jews or Quakers in previous eras—Wilders went on to counter that tolerance had its limits, embracing a position of aggrieved victimhood and declaring that "the West never 'harmed' Islam before it harmed us."[7]

Such statements betray a profound, or perhaps merely willful, ignorance of history. As Lizzy van Leeuwen has pointed out, Wilders's family background is itself far more complex than a binary opposition between civilizations. His part-Indonesian family (by way of his grandmother) was apparently stranded in Europe in the 1930s as a result of his grandfather's stalled career in the colonial service. Ever eager to show themselves to be more Dutch than the Dutch, people like these, estranged from their beloved Indies and somehow adrift in the Netherlands, worked assiduously to replace the sometimes pejorative label of *Allochtone* (exogenous) with *Autochtone* (indigenous), to sing the national anthem with its reference to "German blood" a little louder, and to look with mawkish nostalgia upon the "good old days" of the distant past—celebrated with lashings of food recast for European tastes that demand more meat and sauce but less rice and spice.[8]

Much as Geert Wilders obscures a part of his heritage with peroxide and sharp rhetoric—embraced by elements of all classes—the Dutch have largely forgotten how much of the wealth that served as the motor of the Republic in its Golden Age, and which revived its fortunes in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars, had long flowed westward from its web of Asian colonies. And in the course of this extraction the merchant imperialists of the Dutch East India Company of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, followed by their regal heirs in the nineteenth century, both traded and fought with Muslims en route. But these were different times, surely, and a quick scan of historical accounts shows that fear cannot be said to have been a dominating emotion in the early centuries. Granted, Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466–1536) may have called for the destruction of the Turks by a unified Europe, and Grotius of Delft (1583–1645) bewailed the conquest

of so much of the world by a rampant Islamic faith; yet the Dutch were always pragmatic in their dealings with the Ottoman Empire or the rulers of North Africa, even pondering the merits of alliances of convenience against the rulers of Catholic Spain and France. If anything they were perhaps more fearful that their sometime rivals (or friends) in England were seizing the advantages that they desired from trade with the Muslim World.[9]

While clearly disapproving of Islam as an alien faith, early modern Dutch descriptions of Muslims usually betray hints of curiosity rather than overwhelming anxiety. For such men as Jan Huygen van Linschoten (1562–1611), who revealed the extent of Portuguese knowledge of the Indian Ocean world in his *Itinerario* of 1595–96, or Frederick de Houtman (1571–1627), who soon sought to profit from that knowledge but had to endure months of captivity at the court of Aceh, in North Sumatra, Muslims were a regrettable majority of the Asian arena for trader and churchman alike.[10]

Even so, they were generally reliable (sometimes even admirable) adversaries and, like the Moors and Turks of the Mediterranean, occasional allies whose ambitions were aided at times when faced with the factors and rulers of less familiar civilizations. In any case a larger global enemy remained in the form of the Catholic Church. Hence preachers such as Gisbertus Voetius (1589–1676) often painted both faiths, with their cults of saints and pilgrimages to one dome or another, as essentially the same deviation. One work on the metropolitan Dutch theologians who did bother to write about Islam in the early modern era has even characterized their attitude as having been something akin to one of the oft-repeated slogans of the Dutch Revolt: "sooner Turk than Papist."[11]

Even the pupils of these theologians, such as the indifferent minister François Valentijn (1666–1727), who was dispatched to the Indies in 1686 to counter the "heathens" in all their guises, would note that missionaries could gain little profit in the face of Islam as a religion that was, in his words, "extremely easy and unusually light" for the peoples of the archipelago. Such ministers therefore confined themselves to attending to the communities of former Catholics left behind by their Portuguese and Spanish predecessors, turning a blind eye to the trickle of returning pilgrims, known by the title of "Hajji."[12]

It was really only in the nineteenth century, with the bankrupted Dutch East India Company replaced by a metropolitan state that aimed to transform the archipelago into a patchwork of cash crops and mines, that Islam seems to have acted as the bond that could bind so many peoples together where once they had fought among themselves. Even then, however, Islam was more usually regretted rather than feared. Dutch administrators and their temporary replacements during the English interregnum of 1811–16 looked with suspicion upon the increasingly visible numbers of Arabs and

hajjis working among populations deemed to be but superficial believers at best. Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles (1781–1826) famously claimed that the Arabs he encountered in port after port had wormed themselves into favor with the Malay rulers and covered all their deeds "in a veil of religious hypocrisy." Even worse, in his mind, was that they inculcated in their hosts "the most intolerant bigotry," thus rendering them "incapable of receiving any species of useful knowledge."[13]

Despite such rhetoric, Raffles began to appreciate certain Arabs, and other ostensibly foreign Muslims, as rational intermediaries in the business of colonialism.[14] And while the occasional aggrieved churchman, such as the influential Wolter Robert van Hoëvell (1812–1879), could look down his nose at the network of mosques and schools that was spreading across the islands and, perhaps, at the many Indo-European faces in his pews who could lay claim to Muslim ancestors, it was only toward the last third of the nineteenth century that Islam began to add an immanent tincture to the Dutch colonial imagination.[15]

This is not to say that there had not been momentary scares. The Java War of 1825–30 and then the escalation of the Padri War on Sumatra soon after had already led observers like Van Hoëvell to offer dire predictions about the threat of Islam even as they claimed that Indonesians were hardly Muslims at all. A later soothsayer was the Delft Arabicist Salomo Keijzer (1823–1868), whose job it was to train officials for service in the Indies, and who clashed with Van Hoëvell in the papers on the question of how Muslim the Javanese really were. Following on from the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857 and then the Jeddah massacre of 1858, Keijzer's 1860 work *Onze tijd in Indië* (Our Time in India) would point directly to Mecca as a source of fanaticism and danger, offering curious images of the imagined Javanese pilgrim in Arabia (see figure 10.1).

Such fears would be amplified in the 1870s and even appeared momentarily justified by an uprising at the coastal town of Cilegon, in West Java, in 1888, before subsiding once again. Yet rather than cataloguing their emergence and apparent dénouement, I shall fast-forward to the end of the century to show how Islamophobia cannot be said to have dominated the colonial Dutch mentality, but rather to have colored it. After all, Europeans would remain the better-armed minority in their still expanding web of colonies, and Islam was merely a part, albeit an increasingly visible one, of a package of worries to be endured before a triumphant return to the leafy suburbs of The Hague or the stately environs of towns like Deventer, where colorful batik fabrics could be draped across old oak furniture. Indeed, with the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, ever more vessels would ply the Indian Ocean, bringing yet more Europeans to Java, sometimes in cabins set high above the densely packed and white-clad hajjis, and usually in profound ignorance of their concerns.

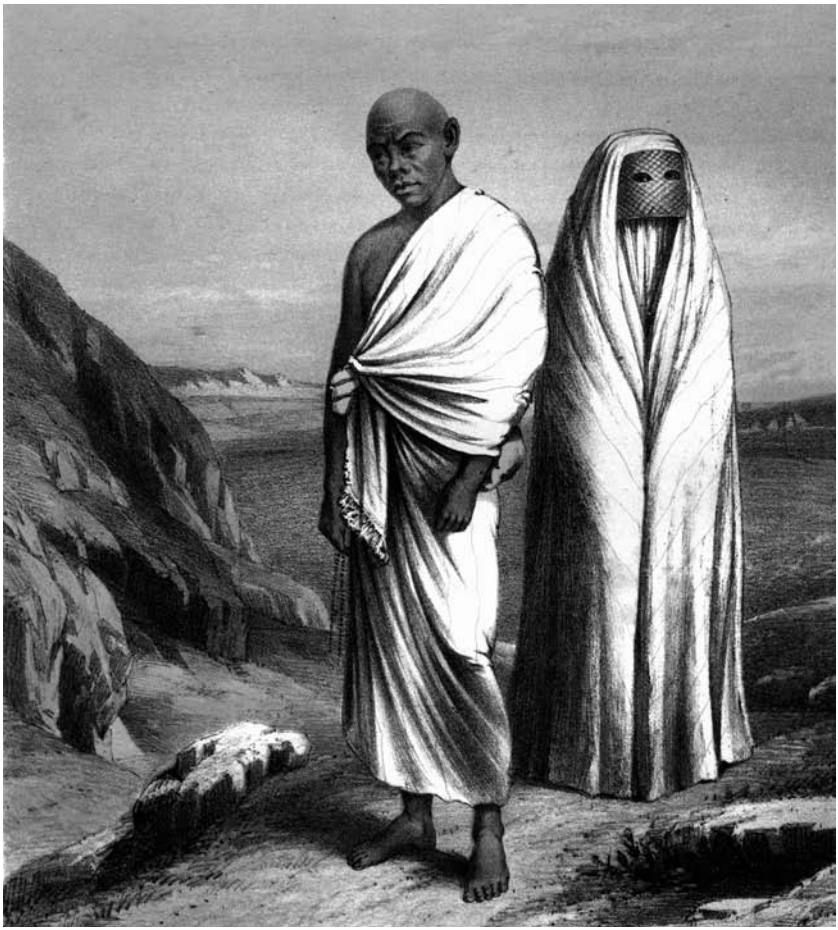

Figure 10.1. Javanese Pilgrims to Mecca as imagined in Salomo Keijzer's *Onze tijd in Indië* (The Hague: Susan, 1860).

White Hajjis

> Miss Doddy has seen a white hadji going by! The white hadji is not a good hadji. He's a ghost![16]

Perhaps the most notable passengers voyaging to Java after 1869, as far as the Dutch of the Indies were concerned, were women. Indeed, with greater numbers of these women in Dutch households and the distance to Europe decreased by steam and telegraph, Ann Stoler has effectively shown how

colonial worries were often predicated on the enervating threats of *métissage* and moral decay.[17]

Such decay was supposedly induced by the tropical heat and being surrounded by seemingly deferent peoples whose practices of magic and nocturnal shadow plays were so utterly inscrutable. Or at least that was the sum of fears summoned upon the colonial canvas in 1900 by the celebrated Louis Couperus (1863–1923) in his now classic *Hidden Force* (*De Stille Kracht*). And it is here, too, that we find a breakthrough of sorts in Indies Dutch literature given that Islam, or at least what Couperus believed were its hidden "mystical" or yet "feminine" interpretations, could be made to serve as a trigger for the activation of so many other unspoken fears.[18] After pages describing mysterious soilings of bedding and stones hurled from directions unseen, Couperus's turgid novel comes to its climax as two victims of his hidden force witness a train unloading a cargo of returned pilgrims from Mecca:

> They both felt it, the unutterable, that lurks in the ground, that hisses under the volcanoes, that slowly draws near with the far-travelled winds, that rushes onward in the rain, that rattles by in the heavy, rolling thunder, that is wafted from the far horizon of the boundless sea, that flashes back from the black mysterious gaze of the secretive native, that squats in his heart and cringes in his humble *hormat* [expression of respect], that gnaws like a poison and a hostile force at the body, soul, and life of the European, that silently attacks the conqueror and saps his energies, causing him to pine and perish, sapping his energies very slowly, so that he wastes away for years, and in the end he dies of it, perhaps by a sudden, tragic death.[19]

Such a death awaited Couperus's protagonist, Otto van Oudijck. Van Oudijck was the Resident, the paramount Dutch official, of the fictional town of Labuwangi (based on Pasuruan in East Java, where Couperus had relatives), who would try, and fail, to instill a metropolitan sense of order as much among his European peers as the native retainers who lit his way in the tropical darkness.

While much of Couperus's novel sketches Van Oudijck's fight for control with the local princeling he was supposed to advise, his ultimate fate was brought on by what I would read as a corporeal manifestation of a "white Hajji." One of several ghostly half figures who flitted from scene to scene by night as a mounting sense of fear developed among the small Western community, this particularly dangerous manifestation was yet another Eurasian son who inhabited the local village. There, in a wooden shack, he pursued a vendetta against the Resident for refusing to acknowledge him as his legitimate scion. In letter after letter, "Si Oudijck"—as the man was

known to all the villagers who accepted the veracity of his claims—wrote of Van Oudijck's new wife's affair with her stepson—threatening to expose his father with reference to her ongoing impropriety rather than the past misdeed that had begotten him and left him languishing in poverty. A price would have to be paid.

The *Hidden Force* is certainly convoluted and deliberately vague in many of its details. One is never sure of the connections between Si Oudijck's campaign, the unexplained incidents that highlight the affairs in the Resident's bathroom and bed, or the white hajjis Couperus placed in the corner of his subjects' eyes or wrapped, assumedly whispering and plotting, in dark corners of the all-enveloping jungle. As Rudolf Mrázek has observed from Couperus's later reflections of 1911, suitably printed under the title "De Angst" (Fear), light and darkness were the overwhelming polarities of the writer's formative Indies experiences in the years 1872–78, and he recalled the fears that were most palpably felt in the ominously silent nightly journey to the bath.[20]

In many respects, then, these inchoate fears may be seen as far more important to the *Hidden Force* than Couperus's return visit to the Indies of 1899–1900, which came a decade after the Cilegon uprising and its bloody resolution. Still, with Cilegon in mind he could link his youthful night terrors to his adult researches, especially given that the former were experienced at a time of ever growing colonial Islamophobia. Indeed the 1870s had witnessed a spike both in the number of articles and publications predicting the demise of colonial rule in the face of growing numbers of inscrutable hajjis and, as seeming evidence of such claims, in the discovery of hastily written Javanese letters that often portended the last days or even the nascence of a messiah (Mahdi) to lead the Muslim believers in a return to the faith and an evisceration of alien rule.[21] By 1881 panicked consuls in Turkey, Arabia, and Singapore sprang into action upon hearing reports from flesh-and-blood hajjis in the Middle East that the sharif of Mecca, or even the Ottoman sultan Abdülhamid II, had been sending similar messages to the faithful around the world.[22] And later, after the catastrophic eruption of Krakatoa in 1883, Indies alarmists such as the engineer R. A. van Sandick (1855–1933) wove such rumors into their newspaper comments and novels, threatening darker days ahead if the state were to relax its vigilance of travelers making their ways to, and more especially from, equally ominous Mecca.[23]

A Learned Antidote

Much as Krakatoa would give ominous warnings by virtue of several smaller eruptions in the weeks before finally unleashing its deadly clouds and a tsunami upon the coasts of Java and Sumatra—killing over thirty-six

thousand people according to official estimates of the day—a heightened awareness of radical Islam had thus animated that small segment of exclusively white officialdom who constituted the social core of the European colonial public. Numerous directives were issued in the early 1880s calling for greater vigilance against purported "foreign" Muslim threats, and all manner of proposals were mooted for their amelioration—from uniforms or yet examinations for hajjis. The increasing numbers of Arabs who were migrating to the bustling ports of the region were certainly subjected to intense profiling while officials became steadily ever more interested in the content of Friday sermons and prayers offered by the hajjis, who seemed to have exactly the unquestioning authority over the native population to which they aspired. Questions were asked regarding the place of Mecca in the indigenous imagination, about the roles played by the Sufi orders in particular, whose adepts were attracting ever greater numbers of adherents to their gatherings, public and private. There devotees often danced and sang in praise of the Prophet while local officials looked on disdainfully.[24]

A more measured response to such fears was soon offered by a scholar who cultivated them for his own ends. In 1884, the young Orientalist Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936) gained a subvention from the colonial state to travel to Jeddah to monitor the pilgrims passing through the gates of the Dutch consulate. Here he became a Muslim himself, if in name only, and joined a caravan to Mecca, where he reveled as a participant-observer in an utterly alien world. Several months later he was back in the Netherlands penning a report of the city and its inhabitants, switching between humorous tales of the exploits of Javanese scholars (some of whom lived in fear of their domineering wives) and accounts of the ambitions of teachers who preached that the final days of the colonial masters were at hand, if Muslims could only return to the true teachings of the Prophet or, perhaps more immediately and lucratively, if they would pledge their loyalty to one of several key Sufi masters ensconced in the Holy City.[25]

Snouck's narrative of Mecca rendered Islam both more human and potentially more frightening, depending on the passage and, indeed, the reader. Whereas the humanist would find evidence of a long civilizational dialogue between the Middle East and Southeast Asia, the worried colonial official could sense the need to institute yet greater modes of supervision to guarantee colonial security, and perhaps even the need to employ the brash young scholar who had made such a mark in Mecca that Indonesian returnees apparently acknowledged him as a hajji too.[26]

This was arguably Snouck's intention as he wrote his report as much in search of service with the colonial state as of apprising his fellow countrymen of the faith of the majority of their distant subjects. It was also at this time that he joined hands with an enthusiastic accessory to Dutch colonialism in Java. This was the Arab scholar Sayyid ʿUthman bin ʿAqil

(1828–1914), who had long decried the teachings of many Sufi teachers lately returned from Mecca as a danger to the security that the Dutch provided for the "safe practice of religion."[27] Security, it seems, trumped the principle of Islamic sovereignty for this elderly scholar who saw in Snouck the solution to fears of his own. He even wrote in one letter of the dangers inherent in the teachings of the *shaykh*s who rejected his claims to paramount authority in the Indies, dangers made all too evident two years later, when members of a Sufi order with connections to Mecca did indeed lead their small-scale rebellion in Cilegon.[28]

For many Europeans in the Indies—Dutch, German, Belgian, and French (among others)—it therefore seemed that the whispered warnings of the past ten years had been finally realized, and a shocked public was treated over the following weeks and months to reports of how men, women, and children loyal to the state (Dutch and native alike) had been chased from their comfortable bungalows and then hacked to death or forcibly converted by their captors. Writing with over a century's hindsight (and with the narrative fleshed out in Sartono Kartodirdjo's work of 1966), Simon Winchester used his popular history of Krakatoa to cast the affair, since termed by some in Indonesia as the "Banten Jihad," as the "last rebellion of a ruined people." He even drew a direct line from the events of Cilegon to the genesis of al-Qaeda by virtue of the connections between Southeast Asia and the birthplace of Osama bin Laden, much as the shocked colonial officials of 1888 pointed to illegible and inherently alien Mecca as the birthplace of all evil.[29]

In its day, though, such rhetoric was mocked by Snouck the savant, who was brought to Java in 1889 to make a survey of Islam, rising to the post of official adviser on Islam and Arab affairs soon after. Having at last secured the post he had long desired, he set out to disabuse his insecure colleagues of the dangers of Mecca. Henceforth the fantasist politics of pan-Islam, by which the Ottoman state attempted to claim some form of moral authority over Muslims well outside the bounds of their shrinking empire, were presented as a greater threat to the continuance of Dutch rule. He also engaged in further jaunts of participant-observation in Java and Aceh, where his nation had been engaged with an Islamic insurgency since the early 1870s.[30]

In both fields the Orientalist provided rather different sets of advice. In Java, and especially following his survey of the terrain of the great "terror" of Cilegon (a term he glossed in his field notes with the Arabic word for fear, *khawf*), Snouck came to condemn the ignorance of his fellow countrymen. He also drew closer to the Sufi teachers he had once mocked as purveyors of irreligion and ignorance, now presenting them as idiosyncratic masters of a tradition that could scarcely be held as systematically organized or yet accountable for some global plot hatched in Mecca. In

Aceh, moreover, this willingly embedded observer of expeditions tracking insurgents armed with little more than blunderbusses and amulets surveyed a terrain upon which the Sufi orders had left their mark in previous centuries, but which could hardly be held to be in living contact with the latest doctrine emanating from Mecca.[31]

Writing reports from the field, his office in the colonial capital of Batavia, or later the stately environs of Leiden—the university town where the Plymouth Puritans had so feared dissolution within then too open Dutch society—Snouck continued to advise the Netherlandic state on how to deal with Islam. Indeed, after having been appointed as professor of Arabic at Leiden in 1906, he continued his long campaign to warn of the dangers of global pan-Islam while smiling benignly upon the activities of Muslims in the Indies who were calling for recognition as equals under the Dutch flag.

For a time it seemed that the Dutch elite was with him. His long tenure in Batavia and Leiden coincided with, and shaped to some degree, a strong intellectual revolution in the Netherlands opposed to the previous ways of doing business in the Indies, and officialdom was instructed to heed his advice. The founding of modern schools, hospitals, and welfare societies by native Indonesians (as well as Chinese and Arab subjects) was encouraged, and their mild calls for political recognition were now allowable in a state that was arguably complacent about its place in history and the future alike. Islam was, according to one historian of the incipient nationalist movement, the nameless signifier for the unity of Indies Muslims, and the inroads made by "Meccan" scholars and activists were seen as far less problematic as compared to those voiced by so-called radicals who had received a measure of Dutch education and who had grown attracted to the thinking of Marx and his interpreters.[32]

Despite incidents in which Islam played an organizational role in native resistance, Mecca was inexorably rendered in the official imagination as the backward and seemingly inconsequential heart of Arabia, and the Sufi *shaykh*s of that city or the Indies were fast losing traction in the face of the modern pilgrims from the universities of Holland, or indeed the political centers of Paris and Cairo. Certainly the ominously Islamic aspects of Couperus's work of 1900, even as it gained lasting plaudits as a monument of Dutch literature, would have resonated less and less with the much larger, more confident, and certainly more illuminated foreign community of 1925, especially at a time when the influence of international communism was perceived as a far greater threat to global capital than the boatloads of hajjis walking down the ramps of so many other ports of the archipelago. In fact, the exceptionally well-attended Hajj of 1927 was seen less as an instance of exemplary devotion to a frightening faith, and more as an escape strategy for so many of the perpetrators of failed Communist uprisings in Sumatra and Java in December 1926 and January 1927.[33]

As time went on Islam became even less the named opponent as new figures appeared onstage in the form of nationalist leaders like Sukarno. And when, after a decade of economic depression and political repression, followed by the shock of Japanese occupation (1942–45), prominent Muslim leaders such as Hasyim Asy'ari (1875–1947) sought to support these nationalists by declaring their war of independence to be a jihad, few Dutchmen marked the conflict as such. Rather their Indies were to be wrested in a series of so-called police actions from the hands of "traitors" who had thrown in their lot with the Japanese without true concern for their own supposedly simple brethren.[34]

Without world support, and denied the boons of the Marshall Plan for a time, the Dutch fought a pointless war. Indonesia was belatedly acknowledged as independent in 1949, and then as the master of West Papua twenty years later when that territory's peoples were made to throw in their lot with a Muslim-majority Muslim nation that made little space, if any, for Islam as a formal doctrine of national authority. In fact, under an increasingly dictatorial Sukarno, the state was doing its level best to continue the colonial tradition of suppressing calls for an Islamic state. The 1950s and 1960s saw the national army engaged in a vicious war in places like Aceh and West Java that ultimately sowed the seeds for the Islamist movement that congealed anew in the 1990s and that courted the money and skills of al-Qaeda after encounters on the global battlefield of Afghanistan.[35]

Fresh Beginnings, Fresh Fears

For their part the Dutch would forge a new relationship with Islam in the postcolonial era that had little to do with their old Indies or yet their old fears, consigned to the deep past by Couperus's novel or the raw memories of internment under the Japanese. Once again it was an inadvertent encounter. Needing foreign labor to rebuild after the war, the Dutch welcomed (although that is not quite the right word) laborers from North Africa and Turkey. While originally imagined as a short-term phenomenon in Dutch life, men stayed and families followed. Lives were built and places taken in courses intended to create citizens with religious outlooks that were to be limited to the personal spheres.

But for all their cherished values of tolerance, the Dutch hosts more usually held up the principle of acculturation rather than individuation as the ideal. And much as expatriate Indonesian Christians (largely from the Moluccas) had learned to pine for Dutch autochthony, it was thought that Muslims would recalibrate and find their place. But Turks and Moroccans found few openings in Dutch society and little interest in their respective cultural differences. "Muslim" has since become as much an

undifferentiated ethnicity in common Dutch parlance as "Latino" has in the United States. Public housing schemes in depressed areas have bred cycles of unemployment and crime and fed the opinion pages of papers that take pride in being direct to the point of insulting. Such discourse, adeptly described by Ian Buruma, was mastered by populist critics like the acerbic Theo van Gogh or the deliberately offensive Pim Fortuyn (1948–2002). Each played to assumptions of Muslim misogyny, homophobia, and the sort of anti-Semitism that the Dutch have so recently shaken off, given their ambiguous history of collaboration during the Nazi occupation. Imagining the Dutch to be merely victims of intolerance and occupation as much at home as abroad, such demagogues willingly seized upon petty street crime and drug use among the children and grandchildren of impoverished immigrants as an intrinsic element of Islamic culture.

Although Fortuyn was assassinated in 2002 by an animal rights activist who claimed to be incensed in part by his scapegoating of Muslims, Van Gogh met his grisly end on an Amsterdam street two years later much as some had feared: at the hands of a young Dutchman of Moroccan extraction who had drifted in criminal gangs before embracing a scripturalist Islamic solution to his personal crisis. More frightening still, this drifter, Muhammad Bouyeri, literally pinned a message to Van Gogh's body declaring that the next victim would be the latter's outspoken Somali-born collaborator, Ayaan Hirsi Ali, the former parliamentarian now living under protection in the United States and working as a resident fellow of the American Enterprise Institute.

Whereas the mantle of Theo van Gogh has been self-righteously appropriated by Geert Wilders, the latter's appeal arguably owes less to the martyrdom of his predecessor than to the cumulative rightward turn against peoples who are no longer to be found in some distant foreign land but who, through their (apparently silent) presence, threaten to make the Netherlands itself foreign to the singers of "Het Wilhelmus" with their less and less obviously German blood. The former minister for justice, Rita Verdonk, once actually proposed that Muslims taking Dutch citizenship should be forced to throw off the veil and sing the anthem. Perhaps making the "Muslim" presence all the more intolerable to some is the thought that disaffected Dutch people pushed to the fringes of their own society are themselves willingly embracing this culture. In the days after Van Gogh's murder it was rumored that Muhammad Bouyeri had been encouraged by a youthful *autochthone* zealot. While this was not quite the case, among his colleagues in The Hague was the son of an African-American soldier and his Dutch partner who had been to Pakistan and embraced Islamic militancy.[36]

Perhaps the spectral White Hajji has finally come home to roost in the distant land that had once spurned him, though he would hardly have

found a warm welcome in the old Couperus residence in The Hague (even if it had been used for some decades by the Egyptian Embassy).[37] Rather, the fearful Netherlanders of today would imagine her or his ilk moving quietly, ever so quietly, into the suburbs of Amsterdam or Rotterdam, to flit at the edges of their vision and whisper threats into the ears of the many veiled and bearded people whose presence makes some feel as if they are no longer in the same country, but transported to some time and space that belongs far away, and far behind.

Conclusion

Having ended, for the moment, in the nervous Netherlands of 2012, we are left to ponder the migrations and reformattings of Dutch Islamophobia. Beginning as a vague, rhetorical unease about an alternative (and therefore false) cultural complex met abroad, fear of Islam crystallized once the trickle of Dutch travelers came face to face with living Muslims as compared with the subjects of their preachers' sermons. Even then, however, it was not necessarily actuated universally, or evenly, in the day-to-day encounters that occurred in the expanding web of colonies founded by the Dutch East India Company in Asia. Rather it was a sense that was most keenly felt once larger waves of metropolitan visitors—and indeed many more women who were crucial to the remakings of Dutchness abroad—came to understand their relative isolation and numerical insignificance far from "home." Even then such fears, invoked with talk of ghosts and magic, could often be managed and banished by those who monopolized technical power in the form of an organized military, steam power, and electronic communications. Indonesia's "bad Muslims"—the ghostly white hajjis of Couperus's imagination—could be dispelled for fomenting unrest. Ultimately the fear of them was displaced by the more tangible claims and threats of nationalists and Communists who had reformatted the writings of the European tradition.

Even so, it is in one of Couperus's characters—the Eurasian son whose whispers helped undo the Resident of Labuwangi—that we still find perhaps the most relevant embodiment of modern fears. Si Oudijck was a hybrid European-Muslim figure who kept the company of the turbaned and batik-clad natives, who slipped behind walls, sending demanding letters and ultimately gaining what he desired: begrudging recognition followed by the slow demise of his father, who was absorbed by the tropical environment he once thought he was going to rationalize and enlighten.

In the end the Resident's hope was replaced by fear and despair. And perhaps this fear also lies in some way at the root of modern Islamophobias framed around the physical presence and, essentially, the future of Islam in

the West, when civilizations will no longer clash but inexorably merge or, worse, be subsumed. Are "we" ultimately to become "them"? Seen in this way it is thus all the more ironic in the Dutch case that we see someone with a hybrid past in a forgotten history grasping for the banner of a monochromatic Western culture.

Notes

Preface

1. Joanna Bourke, *Fear: A Cultural History* (London: Virago, 2005); Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Fear* (Cambridge and Malden: Polity, 2006); Daniel Freeman and Jason Freeman, *Paranoia: The Twenty-first Century Fear* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); Kate Hebblethwaite and Elizabeth McCarthy, eds., *Fear: Essays on the Meaning and Experience of Fear* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007). Jan Plamper's comment about fear's marketability was made at the workshop "Fear: Multidisciplinary Perspectives," hosted by the Shelby Cullom Davis Center for Historical Studies, Princeton University, 12 April 2008. The initial results of this workshop as edited by Plamper and Ben Lazier are available in the special forum on fear in *Representations* 110 (May 2010). A special volume under the same editors is now in press as *Fear: Across the Disciplines* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012).

2. Itty Abraham, "*Segurança*/Security in Brazil and the United States," in Carol Gluck and Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, eds., *Words in Motion* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2009), 23.

3. It should be noted that Sundaram has himself been involved with editing a work on fear. See Monica Narula et al., eds., *Fear: Sarai Reader 08* (Delhi: Sarai Media Lab, 2010).

Introduction

1. Quentin Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas," *History and Theory* 8-1 (1969): 36.

2. Benedictus de Spinoza, *Spinoza's Short Treatise on God, Man and His Wellbeing*, trans. A. Wolf (London: A. and C. Black, 1910), 90–91.

3. Among the voluminous literature on the place of the emotions in the natural and behavioral sciences, see, for example, Otniel E. Dror, "The Affect of Experiment: The Turn to Emotions in Anglo-American Physiology, 1900–1940," *Isis* 90-2 (March 1999): 205–37; and idem, "The Scientific Image of Emotion: Experience and Technologies of Inscription," *Configurations* 7-3 (1999): 355–401.

4. Charles Darwin, *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (London: John Murray, 1872), 290.

5. Ibid., 362.

6. On how historically nuanced Darwin's emotion concept in particular may have been, see Daniel M. Gross, "Defending the Humanities with Charles

Darwin's *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (1872)," *Critical Inquiry* 37-1 (Autumn 2010): 34–59, in which Gross argues that "Darwin's rhetoric of emotion is remarkably skeptical and humanistic, which does not diminish its scientific piquancy but rather aligns it with our 'situated' theories in the science of cognition." Ibid., 36.

7. For some different perspectives on the contours and limits of Liberalism in various world-historical contexts, see Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798–1939* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962); Uday Mehta, *Liberalism and Empire: A Study in Nineteenth-Century British Liberal Thought* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Jennifer Pitts, *A Turn to Empire: The Rise of Imperial Liberalism in Britain and France* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005); C. A. Bayly, *Recovering Liberties: Indian Thought in the Age of Liberalism and Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011); and Shira Robinson, *Both Citizens and Strangers: Palestinian Citizenship under Military Rule, 1948–1967* (forthcoming).

8. Judith N. Shklar, "The Liberalism of Fear," in Nancy L. Rosenblum, ed., *Liberalism and the Moral Life* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989), 21.

9. Ibid., 29.

10. Ibid., 34

11. Ibid., 36–37.

12. Charles Taylor, "Foreword: Politics and Passion," in Rebecca Kingston and Leonard Ferry, eds., *Bringing the Passions Back In: The Emotions in Political Philosophy*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008), viii.

13. Theodore Zeldin, "Personal History and the History of the Emotions," *Journal of Social History* 15 (1982): 339–48.

14. On the relationship between (in)security and fear, see, for example, Michael Sorkin, *Indefensible Space: The Architecture of the National Insecurity State* (New York: Routledge, 2008); and Itty Abraham, "*Segurança*/Security in Brazil and the United States," in Carol Gluck and Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, eds., *Words in Motion: Toward a Global Lexicon* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2009), 21–39.

15. The "affective turn" in anthropology has made this literature too vast to comprehensively cite here. A list of some of the most important works that helped to chart this new course, though, would have to include the following: Catherine Lutz and Geoffrey White, "The Anthropology of Emotions," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 15 (1986): 405–36; Anna Wierzbicka, "Human Emotions: Universal or Culture Specific," *American Anthropologist* 88-3 (September 1986): 584–94; Catherine A. Lutz and Lila Abu-Lughod, eds., *Language and the Politics of Emotion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Margot L. Lyon, "Missing Emotion: The Limitations of Cultural Constructionism in the Study of Emotion," *Cultural Anthropology* 10-2 (May 1995): 244–63; John Leavitt, "Meaning and Feeling in the Anthropology of Emotions," *American Ethnologist* 23-3 (August 1996): 514–39; and William M. Reddy, "Emotional Liberty: Politics and History in the Anthropology of Emotions," *Cultural Anthropology* 14-2 (May 1999): 256–88.

16. Lucien Febvre, "La Sensibilité et l'histoire: comment reconstituer la vie affective d'autrefois?" *Annales d'histoire sociale* 3 (1941): 5–20; Zeldin, "Personal History and the History of the Emotions"; Peter N. Stearns with Carol Z. Stearns, "Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards," *American Historical Review* (1985): 813–36; William M. Reddy, "Against

Constructionism: The Historical Ethnography of Emotions," *Current Anthropology* 38-3 (June 1997): 327–51; Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Worrying About Emotions in History," *American Historical Review* (2002): 821–45; Daniel Wickberg, "What Is the History of Sensibilities? On Cultural Histories, Old and New," *American Historical Review* 112-3 (June 2007): 661–84; and Jan Plamper, "The History of Emotions: An Interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns," *History and Theory* 49 (2010): 237–65.

17. Febvre, "La Sensibilité et l'histoire," 12.

18. Stearns with Stearns, "Emotionology," 813.

19. Ibid., 820

20. David L. Scruton, "The Anthropology of an Emotion," in David L. Scruton, ed., *Sociophobics: The Anthropology of Fear* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1986), 9.

21. Joanna Bourke, "Fear and Anxiety: Writing About Emotion in Modern History," *History Workshop Journal* 55 (2003): 129.

22. Joanna Bourke, *Fear: A Cultural History* (London: Virago, 2005), 8. Emphasis in the original.

23. There are, of course, many genres of the emotional turn in the humanities and political theory, but also in the social sciences and the life sciences. For just a small sense of this diversity, see Khaled Fattah and K. M. Fierke, "A Clash of Emotions: The Politics of Humiliation and Political Violence in the Middle East," *European Journal of International Relations* 15-1 (2009): 67–93, and Dominique Moïsi, *The Geopolitics of Emotion: How Cultures of Fear, Humiliation, and Hope Are Reshaping the World* (New York: Doubleday, 2009); but also the "positive psychology" and related fields in the quantitative social sciences, as in, for example, Daniel Gilbert, *Stumbling on Happiness* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006).

24. Sara Ahmed, "The Happiness Turn," *New Formations* 63 (2007): 7–14.

25. Sara Ahmed, *The Promise of Happiness* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2010), 2.

26. Ibid., 4. See, too, Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (New York: Routledge, 2004). For a different kind of engagement with the notion of "touch," cf. Daniel Heller-Roazen, *The Inner Touch: Archaeology of a Sensation* (New York: Zone Books, 2007), 293: "One might still wonder why it is the acuity of touch, among all the senses, that testifies to the unique strength of the human mind."

27. Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 64.

28. Ibid., 70, 74.

29. The reference to "liquid fear" is, of course, owed to Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Fear* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006).

30. Frank Furedi, *Politics of Fear* (New York: Continuum, 2005), 130.

31. Ibid., 140.

32. To be sure, there are exceptions to this generalization in the field of Middle East studies, as with the influential work of Lila Abu-Lughod, "Honour and the Sentiments of Loss in a Bedouin Society," *American Ethnologist* 12-2 (May 1985): 245–61, and *Veiled Sentiments: Honor and Poetry in a Bedouin Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); but also see more recent work by, among others, Samuli Schielke, "Boredom and Despair in Rural Egypt," *Contemporary Islam* 2-3 (December 2008): 251–70.

33. Catherine Lutz and Geoffrey White, "The Anthropology of Emotions," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 15 (1986): 431.

34. Andrew Shryock, "Introduction: Islam as an Object of Fear and Affection," in *Islamophobia/Islamophilia: Beyond the Politics of Enemy and Friend*, Andrew Shryock, ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 3. In his chapter, Michael Laffan adds a Dutch perspective by way of Southeast Asia on the question of Islamophobia.

Chapter One

1. Suffering during the Thirty Years War is treated historiographically by this author in "The Myth of the All-Destructive War: Afterthoughts on German Suffering, 1618–1648," *German History* 29 (2011): 380–403. Additional support for research on the present article conducted at the British Library was provided by a grant from the Wellcome Trust for the History of Medicine.

2. The recent reprint of Willibald Mathäser's edition of the manuscript by Maurus Friesenegger, *Tagebuch aus dem 30. jährigen Krieg* (Munich, 2007) in paperback is most convenient.

3. Andreas Bähr, "'Unausprächliche Furcht' und Theodizee: Geschichtsbewusstsein im Dreißigjährigen Krieg," *Werkstatt Geschichte* 49 (2008): 9–31.

4. Benigna von Krusenstjern and Hans Medick, "*Einleitung*," in idem, eds., *Zwischen Alltag und Katastrophe. Der Dreißigjährige Krieg aus der Nähe* (Göttingen, 1999), 34.

5. Geoffrey Parker, "Crisis and Catastrophe: The Global Crisis of the Seventeenth Century Reconsidered," *AHR* 113 (2008): 1053–1079. Significantly, Parker was one of the early contributors to the debate that began in 1954 with a contribution to *Past & Present* by Eric Hobsbawm (not an early modernist at all, but rather a historian of twentieth-century Europe). For a complete background of the crisis theory, see Jonathan Dewald, "Crisis, Chronology, and the Shape of European Social History," *AHR* 113 (2008): 1031–1052.

6. His etymology of crisis theory rests on an earlier contribution to the debate made by the Renaissance scholar Randolph Starn, "Historians and 'Crisis,'" *Past & Present* 52 (August 1971): 3–22. Indeed, Shank is skeptical about absolute scientific objectivity in any field of human knowledge. J. B. Shank, "Crisis: A Useful Category of Post-Social Scientific Historical Analysis?" *AHR* 113 (2008): 1090–1099.

7. Shank, "Crisis," 1094.

8. It appeared under the pseudonym Severini de Monzambano Veronensis, *De statu Imperii Germanici, ad Laelium fratrem, dominum Trezolani, liber unus* (Geneva, 1667); the first German translation appeared in 1669.

9. Here I have employed an anonymous ("By a Person of Quality") contemporary English translation, *The Present State of Germany* (London, 1690), 135.

10. Pufendorf refers to a tract also published under a pseudonym, Hippolithus à Lapide, the *Dissertatio de ratione status in imperio nostro Romano-Germanico* (n.l., 1640), intended to provoke opposition to Ferdinand III during the deliberations at the Diet of Regensburg. Aristocratically republican in character, it is generally attributed to Bogoslav Philipp Chemnitz, a Pomeranian Lutheran, who had taken a post as Swedish court historian, just as Pufendorf later did. See

Hajo Holborn, *Das Zeitalter der Reformation und Absolutismus bis 1790* (Munich, 1970), 358.

11. Pufendorf, *The Present State of Germany*, 152–155. Samuel Pufendorf ended his days as court historian to the kings of Prussia, summoned to Berlin in 1688 by the Great Elector, Friedrich Wilhelm.

12. Anonymous, *Unvorgreiffliches Bedencken/Welcher gestalt ein Land/so durch Krig oder in andere Weg Verdert/unnd oder gemacht/vermittelst Göttlicher Gnaden widerumb auffzubringen* (n.l., 1643), A2.

13.This version of the *translatio imperii* may have originated in the historical writings of Otto of Freising; Jacques Le Goff, *Medieval Civilization 400–1500* (Oxford, 1991), 171f. See also Herbert Grundmann, *Geschichtsschreibung im Mittelalter* (Munich, 1965). For a classic study of the *translatio* as a concept, see P. A. van den Baar, *Die kirchliche Lehre der Translatio Imperii Romani: bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Rome, 1956).

14. Anthony Grafton, *What Was History?* (Cambridge, 2007), 166–176. Jean Bodin also wrote on the price revolution (which he blamed on the importation of Spanish gold from the New World, developing the quantity theory of money), as well as the benefits of absolutism at a time when a series of civil wars rocked his native France, the cultural impact of climate, and a vehement call for the persecution of witches. By noting Bodin's recognition of so-called crises during a much earlier time frame, questions arise about Parker's chronological scheme, that is, a crisis around 1650. In fact, historians of climate recognize that the Little Ice Age achieved its peak in the years from circa 1560 to 1640. For recent findings on the cultural impact of the Little Ice Age, see Wolfgang Behriner, Hartmut Lehman, and Christian Pfister, eds., *Kulturelle Konsequenzen der 'Kleinen Eiszeit'/Cultural Consequences of the "Little Ice Age"* (Göttingen, 2005).

15. Barbara Stollberg-Rillinger, *Das Heilige Römishce Reich Deutscher Nation* (Munich, 2006), 14–35, mentions only that the concept was a common contemporary metaphor.

16. Wolfgang Harms, ed., *Deutsche Illutstrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1980), vol. 2, 2f. The Ottomans too viewed themselves as the successors of the Roman Empire via Byzantium; see Roger Crowley, *1453: The Holy War for Constantinople and the Clash of Islam and the West* (New York, 2005).

17. Andreas Bähr, "*Furcht, divinatorischer Traum und autobiographisches Schreiben in der frühen Neuzeit*," in *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 34 (2007): 1–32. The scene is also recounted in his "*Träumen von sich. Imaginative Selbstverortung und der Raum der 'Person' in Traumerzählungen der europäischen Frühen Neuzeit*," in Andreas Bähr, Peter Burschel, and Gabriele Janke, eds., *Räume des Selbst. Selstzeugnisforschung transkulturell* (Vienna, 2007), 273–287.

18. On the various ways God inspired fear in contemporaries, see Bähr, "'Unausprächliche Furcht,'" 21.

19. An interesting collection of essays on related subjects for further reading is David Hillman and Carla Mazzio, eds., *The Body in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe* (London, 1997).

20. During a decade in exile, Hobbes studied Vesalius in Amsterdam with William Petty and may have participated in anatomical dissections in Paris; see Aloysius Martinich, *Hobbes: A Biography* (Cambridge, 1999), 194. Hobbes's friend,

the circulatory pioneer William Harvey, purportedly left him £10 in his will: Oliver Lawson Dick, ed., *Aubrey's Brief Lives* (London, 1950), 133. His use of anatomical language to interpret human behavior and politics figures prominently in *De Corpore Politico* (1652) and an anthropological study, *De Homine* (1658). For selections thereof, see Richard S. Peters, ed., *Body, Man, and Citizen: Thomas Hobbes* (New York, 1962).

21. Giorgio Vasari, *The Lives of the Artists* (New York, 1987), trans. George Bull, vol. 2, 76.

22. Hyder E. Rollins, "Martin Parker, Ballad Monger," *Modern Philology* 16 (1919), 449–474.

23. Martin Parker, A briefe dissection … (London, 1638), A3.

24. Ibid., A4.

25. Ibid., A5–A8.

26. Ibid., B2.

27. Ibid., B3f.

28. Herzog August Bibliothek, IE 212.

29. *Bellum Symbolicum. Das ist: Die erschröckliche Wirckungen deß Kriegs* (Augsburg, not after 1632), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Einbl.V,8 a-23.

30. A reference to Daniel 7.

31. Jean Delumeau, *La Peur en Occident, XIVe–XVIIIe siécles: une cite assiégée* (Paris, 1978); idem, *Sin and Fear: The Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture, 13th–18th Centuries* (New York, 1979).

32. It has been suggested that these *Wunderkammer* are also the precursors of modern exhibitions of fantastic objects, from mummies to Gunter von Hagen's internationally acclaimed exhibition of the corporeal remains of Chinese prison inmates, Body Worlds; see http://www.bodyworlds.com/en.html (accessed 1 June 2011). On the baroque fascination with the bizarre, see David R. Castillo, *Baroque Horrors: Roots of the Fantastic in the Age of Curiosities* (Ann Arbor, 2010). See also Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley, 1996); Barbara Benedickt, *Curiosity: A Cultural History of Early Modern Inquiry* (Chicago, 2001).

33. This broad conceptualization of early modern popular culture is characterized in David Lederer, "Popular Culture," in Jonathan Dewald, ed., *Europe 1450 to 1789: Encyclopedia of the Early Modern World* (New York, 2004), vol. 6, 1–9.

34. David Lederer, *Religion, Madness and the State in Early Modern Europe: A Bavarian Beacon* (Cambridge, 2006), 163.

35. Carlo Ginzburg, *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method* (Baltimore,1989), esp. 146–155 on "Freud, the Wolf-Man, and the Werewolves"; for Hungary, see Eva Pocs, *Between the Living and the Dead: A Perspective on Witches and Seers in the Early Modern Age* (Budapest, 1999).

36. Walter L. Strauss, ed., *The German Single Leaf Woodcut, 1550–1600* (New York, 1976), 701.

37. *Erschreckliche erzelung und bekentnis der zeuberer und zeuberin/welche Kurtzlich verbrandt sein worden* (Cologne, 1594); available online at http://histor.ws/hexenforschung/q005.htm (accessed 14 January 2009).

38. William Monter, *Witchcraft in France and Switzerland: The Borderlands during the Reformation* (London, 1976), 60.

39. Rebekka Habermas, "*Wunder, Wunderliches, Wunderbares. Zur Profanisierung eines Deutungsmusters in der Neuzeit*," in Richard van Dülmen (Hg.), *Armut,*

Liebe, Ehre. Studien zur historischen Kulturforschung (Frankfurt, 1988), 38–66; Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, "A Time for Monsters: Monstrous Births, Propaganda and the German Reformation," in Laura Lunger Knoppers and Joan B. Landes, eds., *Monstrous Bodies: Political Monstrosities in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca, 2004), 67–92; Philip Soergel, "Agnes Bowker's Cat, the Rabbit Woman of Godalming, and the Shifting Nature of Portents in Early-Modern Europe," in Roger Dahood and Peter E. Medine, eds., *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* (New York, 2007); idem, "The Afterlives of Monstrous Infants in Reformation Germany," in Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall, eds., *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2000), 288–309; idem, "Portraying Monstrous Birth in Early Modern Germany," in Roger Dahood, ed., *The Future of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Problems, Trends, and Opportunities for Research* (Tempe, 1998).

40. Robert Scribner, "The Impact of the Reformation on Daily Life," in Robert Scribner and Lyndal Roper, eds., *Religion and Culture in Germany, 1400–1800* (Leiden, 2004), 275–310; see also Lederer, *Religion, Madness and the State*, 166.

41. The effective use of dark scatological satire against reformed Calvinism follows in the earthly bourgeois tradition of Luther and is likely an Evangelical celebration of the Catholic victory at the White Mountain. However, the triumph is largely political and economic, rather than theological.

42. Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Hélène Iswolsky (Bloomington, 1993 [1941]).

43. The classic study of Lutheran imagery is Robert Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Oxford, 1994).

44. As an example of gradual de-Christianization: Jean Delumeau, *Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire: A New View of the Counter-Reformation* (Philadelphia, 1977).

45. On dishonor, see Kathy Stuart, *Defiled Trades and Social Outcasts: Honor and Ritual Pollution in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge, 1999).

46. On the imagery, both iconic and textual, of the "postmenopausal crone," see Lyndal Roper, *Witchcraze: Terror and Fantasy in Baroque Germany* (New Haven, 2004), especially part 3: Womanhood, 125–178. The attribution of androgynous traits to the devil famously found its way into popular culture in the illustrations of the demoniac Christoph Haizmann, the subject of a case study by Sigmund Freud, reproduced in Richard Hunter and Ida MacAlpine, eds., *Schizophrenia 1677: A Psychiatric Study of an Illustrated Autobiographical Record of Demoniacal Possession* (London, 1956).

47. "Nun scheiß / nun Frisch du Zoten Teuffl, Findest Pfaffen gnug ohn alln zweiffl / Scheiß Lantzknecht gantz Tonnen voll / Die darff man jetz zum Kriegswol." Note that this image, too, is recycled. For an earlier version, see Wolfgang Harms, ed., *Deutsche Illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1980), vol. 2, 100f.

48. For a comprehensive overview of public discourse in print on the inflation and its causes, see Ulrich Rosseaux, *Die Kipper und Wipper als publizistisches Ereignis (1620–1626). Eine Studie zu den Strukturen öffentlicher Kommunikation im Zeitalter des Dreißigjährigen Krieges* (Berlin, 2001).

49. Geoff Mortimer, *Wallenstein: The Enigma of the Thirty Years War* (London/New York, 2010), 38–41.

50. Greed appears as a dragon in other contemporary broadsheets, such as *Tantali fames, Das ist: Beschreibung der unersetlichen und gantz schädlichen Natur und eygenschafft der hefftigen Kranckheit der Geldsucht*, wherein Greed is explicitly described as a disease: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, HB 23594.

51. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, HB 2837. Described in David Lederer, "'Wieder ein Faß aus Augsburg…' Suizid in der frühneuzeitlichen Lechmetropole," *Mitteilungen. Institut für Europäische Kulturegeschichte der Universität Augsburg* 15 (2005): 47–50. See also Karin Schmidt-Kohlberg, "…und hat 'sich selbsten…an ein Strickhalfter hingehenckt…," in Johannes Dillinger, ed., *Zauberer-Selbstmörder-Schatzsucher. Magische Kultur und behördliche Kontrolle im frühneuzeitlichen Württemberg* (Trier, 233), 131–134.

52. David Lederer, "*Verzweiflung im Alten Reich. Selbstmord während der 'Kleinen Eiszeit'*," in Behringer et al., *Kulturelle Konsequenzen der 'Kleinen Eiszeit'*, 275–280.

53. The plague of 1634 made a greater impression on contemporaries, but by that time the population had been so depleted that the absolute number of deaths was far fewer; 1628 was also one of the worst years of witch-hunting in the empire's history.

54. The microbiologist Hans Zinser identified the Hungarian disease as typhus: *Rats, Lice and History: A Biography* (New York, 1934). On its semantic uses, see Andreas Bähr, "*Die Semantik der Ungarischen Krankheit. Imaginationen von Gewalt als Krankheitsursache zwischen Reformation und Aufklärung*," in Claudia Ulbrich, Claudia Jarzebowski, and Michaela Hohkamp, eds., *Gewalt in der Frühen Neuzeit. Beiträge zur 5. Tagung der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Frühe Neuzeit im VHD* [*Historische Forschungen* 81] (Berlin, 2005), 359–373.

55. The author claims that his book "is first of all about Europe's fear of the Turks and then, by the end, about fear itself": Andrew Wheatcroft, *The Enemy at the Gate: Habsburgs, Ottomans and the Battle for Europe* (London, 2008), 3.

56. Daniel Fulda, "Gewalt gegen Gott und die Natur. Ästhetik und Metaphorizität von Anthropophagieberichten aus dem Dreißigjährigen Krieg," in Markus Meumann and Dirk Niefanger, eds., *Ein Schauplatz herber Angst: Wahrnehmung und Darstellung von Gewalt im 17. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1997), 240–269.

57. An exception is the important collection edited by Knoppers and Landes, *Monstrous Bodies* (see note 39 above).

58. On the outcomes of the war, see Johannes Burkhardt, *Der Dreßigjährige Krieg* (Frankfurt a M., 1992), 233–244.

59. Bähr, "Unausprächliche Furcht," 9.

60. Descartes served as a cavalryman for the Catholic League at White Mountain. Thereafter, stationed at Ulm, he spent a miserable winter shut away in a tiny room contemplating a stove, his only source of warmth. In his boredom, he worked out his premises on hyperbolic doubt for the *Discourse on Method*.

Chapter Two

1. On the place of the Declaration in the history of human rights, see Lynn Hunt, *Inventing Human Rights: A History* (New York: Norton, 2007), esp. 130–35.

2. Colin Jones, *The Longman Companion to the French Revolution* (London and New York: Longman, 1988), 121. This figure includes only those put to death by order of revolutionary tribunals. It does not count the civil war dead.

3. The historiography of the French Revolution is voluminous, and the question of the Terror alone has produced an enormous amount of scholarship. I attempted to synthesize some of this work in my *French Revolution: The Essential Readings* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), esp. 1–30. Among the recent books dealing with the Terror are Patrice Gueniffey, *La politique de la Terreur: essai sur la violence révolutionnaire, 1789–1794* (Paris: Fayard, 2000); Arno Mayer, *The Furies: Violence and Terror in the French and Russian Revolutions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Sophie Wahnich, *La liberté ou la mort: essai sur la terreur et le terrorisme* (Paris: La Fabrique, 2003); David Andress, *The Terror: The Merciless War for Freedom in Revolutionary France* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2006); and Jean-Clément Martin, *Violence et Révolution: Essai sur la naissance d'un mythe national* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2006).

4. Jean Delumeau, *La peur en Occident (XIVe–XVIIIe siècles): une cité assiégée* (Paris: Fayard, 1978). For a critique of Delumeau's paradigm see Andreas Bähr, "Die Furcht der Frühen Neuzeit. Paradigmen, Hintergründe und Perspektiven einer Kontroverse," *Historische Anthropologie* 16/2 (2008): 291–309. For Bähr's work on the paradoxical meanings of fear in seventeenth-century Germany, see "Gottes Wort, Gottes Macht und Gottes Furcht: Gewaltdrohung und Sprache im 17. Jahrhundert," in Jutta Eming and Claudia Jarzebowski, eds., *Blutige Worte: Internationales und interdisziplinäres Kolloquium zum Verhältnis von Sprache und Gewalt in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Göttingen: V & R Unipress, 2008), 213–32; and "Vom Nutzen der Paradoxie für die Kulturhistorie. Furchtlose Furcht in frühneuzeitlichen Selbstbeschreibungen," in Franz X. Eder, ed., *Historische Diskursanalysen: Genealogie, Theorie, Anwendungen* (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2006): 305–21.

5. Martin, *Violence et Révolution*, 186–93.

6. Keith Michael Baker, ed., *The Old Regime and the French Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 339.

7. Maximilien Robespierre, *Discours et Rapports à la Convention*, ed. Marc Bouloiseau (Paris: Union Générale d'Éditions, 1965), 221–22.

8. On the perils of reifying the Enlightenment in the search for simple causal relations between ideas and actions, see Keith Michael Baker, "On the Problem of the Ideological Origins of the French Revolution," in idem, *Inventing the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 12–27.

9. Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialektik der Aufklärung* (New York: Social Studies Association, 1944; reprint, Frankfurt: Fischer, 1969), 7.

10. Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel* (The Hague, 1690), s.v. "Terreur." Emphasis in the original. Dominick LaCapra has cautioned against taking Furetière's dictionary as "canonical." For me it is simply one source among many, and a convenient place to begin. "Chartier, Darnton, and the Great Symbol Massacre," *The Journal of Modern History* 60 (March 1988): 101.

11. *Le dictionnaire de l'Académie françoise* (Paris, 1694), s.v. "Terreur." Emphasis in the original.

12. *Le dictionnaire de l'Académie françoise* (Paris, 1694), s.v. "Terrible."

13. *Dictionnaire de l'Académie françoise* (Paris, 1762), s.v. "Terreur." Emphasis in the original.

14. John Toland, *Anglia Libera* (London, 1701), 181–82.

15. Alberto Radicati, conte di Passerano, *A Phliosophical* [*sic*] *Dissertation upon Death. Composed for the Consolation of the Unhappy. By a Friend to Truth* (London, 1732). On Radicati, see Franco Venturi, *Saggi dell'Europa illuminista. I. Alberto Radicati di Passerano* (Torino: Einaudi, 1954). Jonathan Israel describes Radicati as a "militant deist and connoisseur of radical literature." *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650–1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 69.

16. See, for example, Voltaire, "Sur l'âme" (1738), in Louis Moland, ed., *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire* (Paris, Garnier, 1877–85), vol. 17, 149–54.

17. David Hume, "Of Superstition and Enthusiasm," in idem, *Essays, Moral and Political* (Edinburgh, 1741), 141–42, 146.

18. Frederick II, King of Prussia, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Brandebourg* (Berlin [i.e., London?], 1750), 256.

19. Claude-Adrien Helvétius, *De l'homme* (Paris, 1758), vol. 2, 405.

20. Helvétius, *De l'homme*, vol. 2, 160–61.

21. Denis Diderot, "Epître à mon frère," in *Collection complette des œuvres philosophiques, littéraires et dramatiques de M. Diderot*…(London [i.e., Amsterdam?], 1773), vol. 1, 141–42; and "Essai sur le mérite et la vertu," in *Collection complette,* vol. 1, 254, 271.

22. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Les confessions* (1782; reprint, Paris, 1789), 350.

23. See, for example, Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation*, vol. 1, *The Rise of Modern Paganism* (New York: Norton, 1966), 399.

24. Robert Darnton, *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France* (New York: Norton, 1995), 63–64. The definitive work on Holbach is Alan C. Kors, *D'Holbach's Coterie: An Enlightenment in Paris* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976).

25. Margaret C. Jacob, *The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons, and Republicans* (London and Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1981); and Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*.

26. Paul Henri Thiry, baron d'Holbach, *La contagion sacrée, ou histoire naturelle de la superstition* (London [i.e., Amsterdam?], 1768), vol. 1, 1. The Petronius quote also appears in the writings of Edmund Burke and the marquis de Mirabeau.

27. Holbach, *La contagion sacrée*, vol. 1, 21.

28. Friedrich Karl Casimir, Freiherr von Creuz, speculated that "the first idea of a Supreme Being" was "the effect of the terror that thunder inspired" in early human beings. *L'esprit de la législation* (London [i.e., Paris], 1768), 54. Similarly, Comte Louis-Gabriel du Buat pictured a prehistoric "man left to his own devices" who heard thunder. "He had no doubt that a powerful being made this frightful (*affreux*) noise, and he measured the superiority of this being over him by the difference between the greatest noise he could make and the greatest claps of thunder. He saw a lightning bolt, a tree splitting apart, a prairie or a forest catching fire…terror gripped him (*la terreur le saisit*); and attributing to the being, which he could not see, that which he had experienced more that once himself, he hoped to move it with prayers and acts of submission." *Éléments de la politique,*

ou recherche des vrais principes de l'économie sociale (London [i.e., Paris?], 1773), vol. 2, 69.

29. Holbach, *La contagion sacrée*, vol. 1, 12. On the Treatise, see Abraham Anderson, ed., *The Treatise of the Three Impostors and the Problem of Enlightenment: A New Translation of the Traité des trois imposteurs* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 1997).

30. Holbach, *La contagion sacrée*, vol. 1, 103.

31. Holbach, *La contagion sacrée*, vol. 1, 80.

32. Darnton ranks *Le bon sens* at number 26 on his list of "forbidden bestsellers," ahead of Voltaire's *Dictionnaire philosophique* (number 31). *Forbidden Best-Sellers*, 64.

33. Holbach, *Le bon sens, ou idées naturelles opposées aux idées surnaturelles* (London, 1774), 123, 124.

34. Holbach, *La contagion sacrée*, vol. 1, 127–28.

35. Holbach, *Lettres à Eugénie ou préservatif contre les préjugés* (London [i.e., Amsterdam?], 1768), vol. 1, 129.

36. Holbach, *Le bon sens*, 229. Cf. Immanuel Kant, "Beantwortung der Frage: Was ist Aufklärung?" *Berlinische Monatschrift* 2 (1784): 481–94.

37. Holbach, *La contagion sacrée*, vol. 2, 147–48.

38. Holbach, *Lettres à Eugénie*, vol. 2, 19.

39. Holbach, *Lettres à Eugénie*, vol. 1, 2–3.

40. On the importance of Bible readership for an understanding of the German Enlightenment in particular, see Jonathan Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible: Translation, Scholarship, Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

41."eduxisti populum tuum Israhel de terra Aegypti in signis et in portentis et in manu robusta et in brachio extento et in terrore magno." Jer. 32:21.

42. "terrorem meum mittam in praecursum tuum et occidam omnem populum ad quem ingredieris cunctorum que inimicorum tuorum coram te terga vertam." Exod. 23:27.

43. "surge Domine non confortetur homo iudicentur gentes ante faciem tuam. pone Domine terrorem eis sciant gentes homines se esse semper." Ps. 9:20–21.

44. Gen. 20:11, Ps. 13:3, Ps. 35:2, Eccles. 1:27, Eccles. 10:25, Eccles. 16:1, Eccles. 19:18, Eccles. 23:37, Eccles. 25:8, Eccles. 25:14, Eccles. 25:16, and Rom. 3:18.

45. Rousseau, "Lettre sur l'existence de Dieu, le sentiment interne, &c.," (1769), in *Œuvres choisies de J. J. Rousseau de Genève* (London [i.e., Paris?], [1785?]), vol. 7, 191. Cf. Rousseau's quote in *Julie, ou la Nouvelle Héloïse* (1761): "He who pretends to look on death without fear lies. All men are afraid of dying, this is the great law of sentient beings, without which all mortal species would soon be destroyed." In *Collection complète des œuvres de J. J. Rousseau, Citoyen de Genève* (Geneva, 1782), vol. 3, 262.

46. Louis Sébastien Mercier, *L'an deux mille quatre cent quarante. Rêve s'il en fut jamais* (London [i.e., Dresden?], 1772), 110–11. Darnton ranks Mercier the fourth best-selling author of his day. *Forbidden Best-Sellers*, 63–64.

47. *Les efforts de la liberté & du patriotisme contre le despotisme* (London, 1772–73), vol. 4, 189n.

48. Gerard van Loon, *Histoire metallique des XVII provinces des pays-bas, depuis l'abdication de Charles-Quint, jusqu'à la paix de Bade en MDCCXVI* (The Hague, 1732–37), vol. 3, 12. On the importance of commemorative medals in the king's

self-representation, see Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), passim.

49. Antoinette Deshoulières, "Ode sur le soin que le Roi prend de l'éducation de sa noblesse dans ses Places & dans Saint-Cyr, laquelle remporta le prix à l'Académie françoise," in *Œuvres choisies de Madame et de Mademoiselle Deshoulières* (London [i.e., Paris], 1780), vol. 2, 31. On Deshoulières, who was also a playwright and member of the Academia dei Ricovrati in Padua, see Siep Stuurman, "Literary Feminism in Seventeenth-Century Southern France: The Case of Antoinette de Salvan de Saliez," *The Journal of Modern History* 71 (March 1999): 18; and English Showalter, Jr., "Writing off the Stage: Women Authors and Eighteenth-Century Theater," *Yale French Studies* 75 (1988): 96.

50. The petition is reproduced in Henri de Boulainvilliers, comte de Saint-Saire, *Etat de la France, dans lequel on voit tout ce qui regarde le gouvernement ecclésiastique, le militaire, la justice, les finances, le commerce, les manufactures, le nombre des habitans, & en general* [*sic*] *tout ce qui peut faire connoître à fond cette Monarchie: extrait des mémoires dressez par les Intendans du Royaume, par ordre du Roi, Louis XIV. à la sollicitation de Monseigneur duc de Bourgogne, Père* [*sic*] *de Louis XV, à présent règnant* [*sic*]. *Avec des mémoires historiques sur l'ancien Gouvernement de cette Monarchie jusqu'à Hugues Capet* (London, 1727–28), vol. 3, 541.

51. *Anecdotes échappées à l'Observateur anglois et aux Mémoires secrets, en forme de correspondance; pour servir de suite à ces deux ouvrages* (London [i.e., Paris?], 1788), 112.

52. Van Loon, *Histoire metallique*, vol. 3, 395, 397.

53. Van Loon, *Histoire metallique*, vol. 4, 56.

54. Johann Peter von Ludewig, *Die, von Sr. Königlichen Majestät, unserm allergnädigstem Könige, auf dero Universität Halle, am 14 iulii 1727 neu angerichtete Profession, in OEconomie, Policey, und Cammer-Sachen wird, nebst Vorstellung einiger Stücke verbesserter Kön. Preussl. Policey, bekannt gemachet von dem zeitigem Prorectore, Joh. Peter von Ludewig…* (Halle, 1727), 3.

55. Voltaire, *Le siècle de Louis XIV* (1752), in *Œuvres complètes*, vol. 19, 440.

56. Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV*, 510–11.

57. Denis Diderot, "Principes de politique des sourverains," in *Œuvres complètes de Diderot, revues sur les éditions originales, comprenant ce qui a été publié à diverses époques et les manuscrits inédits, conservés à la Bibliothèque de l'Ermitage, notices, notes, table analytique* (Paris, 1875–77), vol. 2, para. 187, p. 494.

58. John Toland, *The Art of Governing by Parties* (1701; reprint, London, [1757?]), 109. Cf. Toland's description of "The Genius of free Governments," in which the author writes that a free government is "honor'd and fear'd abroad, true to their Allies, firm to their Friends, and terrible but not unjust to their Enemies." *Anglia Libera*, 15.

59. Roger Acherley, *The Britannic Constitution: or, the Fundamental Form of Government in Britain. Demonstrating, the Original Contract Entred* [*sic*] *into by King and People, according to the Primary Institutions thereof, in this Nation. Wherein is Proved, that the Placing on the Throne King William III. was the Natural Fruit and Effect of the Original Constitution. And, that the Succession of this Crown, Establish'd in the Present Protestant Heirs, is* De Jure, *and Justify'd, by the Fundamental Laws of Great Britain. And many Important Original Powers and Privileges, of Both Houses of Parliament, are Exhibited* (London, 1727), 55.

60. *The True State of the Case, in an Address to All the Good People of England. From a Well-Wisher to his Country* (London, 1763), 61–62.

61. Abbé (Gabriel François) Coyer, "La noblesse commerçante" (1756), in *Œuvres de M. l'Abbé Coyer, de l'Académie Royale des Sciences & Belles-Lettres de Nanci* (London [i.e., Paris?], 1765), vol. 2, 65.

62. Nicolas Bricaire de La Dixmerie, *La Sibyle gauloise, ou la France telle qu'elle fut, telle qu'elle est, &c telle, à peu-près, qu'elle pourra être. Ouvrage traduit du celte* (London [i.e., Paris], 1775), 5.

63. Gabriel-Honoré de Riquetti, comte de Mirabeau, *Aux Bataves sur le stathoudérat. Par Mr. le comte de Mirabeau* (London [i.e., Paris?], 1788), 67.

64. Samuel, Freiherr von Pufendorf, *De officio hominis & civis, juxta legem naturalem libri duo* (Cambridge, 1682), vol. 2, 155.

65. Gottfried Wilhelm, Freiherr von Leibniz, *Essais de Théodicée* (1710; reprint, Paris: Aubier, 1962), 196.

66. David Hume, *The History of Great Britain* (London, 1757), vol. 2, 36.

67. Hume, *History of Great Britain*, vol. 2, 5, 34.

68. Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776; reprint, London, 1789), vol. 1, 10.

69. James Fitzjames, Duke of Berwick, *Memoirs of the Marshal Duke of Berwick* (London, 1779), vol. 1, 364–66.

70. Antoine de Pas, marquis de Feuquière, *Mémoires de M. le Marquis de Feuquière* (London [i.e., Paris?], 1736), 88. Cf. *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne* (Paris, 1843–[65]), vol. 14, 73.

71. Feuquière, *Mémoires*, 175.

72. Feuquière, *Mémoires*, 450.

73. Feuquière, *Mémoires*, 235.

74. Feuquière, *Mémoires*, 496.

75. Feuquière, *Mémoires*, 261.

76. Feuquière, *Mémoires de M. le Marquis de Feuquière,…Nouvelle édition* (London [Paris?], 1740), vol. 1, lxxi.

77. David A. Bell calls Guibert "France's most influential pre-Revolutionary military reformer (and an habitué of 'philosophical' salons)." See his *The First Total War: Napoleon's Europe and the Birth of Warfare as We Know It* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2007), 79.

78. Jacques Antoine Hippolyte, comte de Guibert, *Éloge du roi de Prusse. Par l'auteur de l'Essai général de tactique* (London [i.e., Paris?], 1787), 189.

79. Jacques Antoine Hippolyte, comte de Guibert, *Essai général de tactique, précédé d'un discours sur l'état actuel de la politique & de la science militaire en Europe* (London [i.e., Liège], 1773), vol. 2, 38.

80. Jacques Antoine Hippolyte, comte de Guibert, *"Éloge du Maréchal de Catinat* (Edinburgh [i.e., Paris?], 1775), 22.

81. Guibert, *Essai général de tactique*, vol. 2, 38. For other examples of "terrible" tactics, see pp. xx, 133, 150, 153, 154.

82. William Eden, Baron Aukland, *Principles of Penal Law* (London, 1771), 278.

83. Quoted by Voltaire and cited in Antoine Court de Gébelin, *Les toulousaines ou lettres historiques et apologétiques en faveur de la religion reformée* (Edinburgh [i.e., Toulouse?], 1763), 414. Emphasis added.

84. *The Trial of Katharine Nairn and Patrick Ogilvie for the Crimes of Incest and Murder. Containing the Whole Procedure of the High Court of Justiciary, Upon the 5th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, and 16th Days of August 1765* (Edinburgh, 1765), 16. Emphasis added. Other instances of this formula, with minor variations in wording, are in *A Collection of State-Trials, and Proceedings, upon High-Treason, and Other Crimes and Misdemeanours, from the Reign of Queen Anne, to the Present Time* (London, 1766), vol. 9, 26, 594; vol. 10, 44; *The Trial of Mungo Campbell, Before The High Court of Justiciary in Scotland, For the Murder of Alexander Earl of Eglintoun* (London, 1770), 4; Maclaurin, *Arguments, and Decisions, in Remarkable Cases, Before the High Court of Justiciary, and other Supreme Courts, in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1774), 121, 473, 621, and 637; and *A Collection of The Most Remarkable and Interesting Trials. Particularly of Their Lives to The Injured Laws of Their Country* (London, 1776), vol. 2, 476.

85. John Locke, *First Treatise of Government* (1690; reprint, London: 1774), § 92, 109.

86. Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, *The Philosophical Works of the Late Right Honorable Henry St. John, Lord Viscount Bolingbroke* (London, 1754), vol. 5, 127.

87. Voltaire, *Histoire de l'empire de Russie* (1759–1763), in *La Henriade, divers autres poèmes* ([Geneva], 1775), vol. 22, part 1, chap. 8, § 353.

88. Cesare Beccaria, *Dei delitti e delle pene* (1764), in Franco Venturi, ed., *Illuministi italiani* (Milan and Naples: Riccardo Ricciardi, 1997), vol. 3, 55.

89. Beccaria, *Dei delitti e delle pene*, 74–75.

90. George B. Watts, "Thomas Jefferson, the 'Encylopédie' and the 'Encyclopédie méthodique'," *The French Review* 38 (January 1965): 318–325.

91. Jean-Nicolas Démeunier, *L'esprit des usages et des coutumes des différens peuples, ou observations tirées des voyageurs & des historiens* (London [i.e., Paris?], 1776), vol. 3, 146.

92. Démeunier, *L'esprit des usages*, vol. 3, p. 178.

93. Jeremy Bentham, *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation. Printed in the Year 1780, and Now First Published* (London, 1789), clxxiii.

94. Beccaria wrote that laws must lead to "la massima felicità divisa nel maggio numero." "Dei Delitti," in Venturi, ed., *Illuministi*, 32. Bentham wrote that Beccaria was the only writer on law whose work deserved to be read. See his "Principles of Legislation," in Jan Goldstein and John W. Boyer, eds., *Nineteenth-Century Europe: Liberalism and its Critics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 23.

95. Terror could be an important component of instruction, according to some pedagogical writers. For example, in "The Preceptor," a poem on education, Samuel Johnson advises a tutor instructing a young pupil: "Anger assumed sometimes not ill avails / To strike a terror, where instruction fails; / Yet reason still should rule, that spark divine / Should thro' the counterfeited frenzy shine." *An Essay on Education. A Poem* (Shrewsbury, 1771), 37.

96. Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (London, 1757), 13. Emphasis in the original.

97. Claude-Adrien Helvétius, *De l'esprit* (Paris, 1758), 249.

98. Helvétius, *De l'homme*, 229, 236.

99. Denis Diderot, *Salons*, ed. Jean Seznec and Jean Adhémar (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 2nd ed., vol. 1, 64, 121, 125, 131–32, 212; vol. 2, 92–93, 97–98, 100–104, 133–34, 158, 160, 162, 165.

100. Horace Walpole, *The Castle of Otranto. A Gothic Story* (1764; reprint, London, 1769), vii.

101. James Macpherson, *The Works of Ossian, the Son of Fingal. In two volumes. Translated from the Galic language by James Macpherson.… The third edition.* (London, 1765), vol. 2, 91.

102. William Duff, *Critical Observations on the Writings of the Most Celebrated Original Geniuses in Poetry. Being a Sequel to the Essay on Original Genius* (London, 1770), 103.

103. Hugh Blair, *A Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian, the Son of Fingal. The Second Edition* (London, 1765), 65. Blair also wrote of the "awful sublimity employed to heighten the terror" of the story's climactic battle, and explained that "the sublime" is "an awful and serious emotion" that is "heightened by all the images of Trouble, and Terror, and Darkness." *Critical Dissertation*, 105, 209.

104. Joseph Addison, *The Works of the Right Honourable Joseph Addison, Esq.* (London, 1721), vol. 2, 485–86.

105. Voltaire, "Discours sur la tragédie à milord Bolingbroke" (1731), in Moland, ed., *Œuvres complètes*, vol. 2, 321.

106. David Hume, "Of Tragedy," in *Four Dissertations* (London, 1757), 185.

107. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* ([Hamburg], 1769), vol. 1, nos. 10–12, 32, 37–38, 49, 51 (pp. 83–89, 250–53, 292, 300, 388, 408), and vol. 2, nos. 74–75 (pp. 169–71, 178).

108. See, e.g., *La contagion sacrée*, vol. 2, 120–21; *La politique naturelle, ou discours sur les vrais principes du gouvernement. Par un ancien magistrat* (London, 1774), vol. 1, 217; *Le bon sens*, 150–51, 154–56; *Le christianisme dévoilé, ou examen des principes et des effets de la religion chrétienne* (London [i.e., Frankfurt], 1767), vi; *Lettres a Eugénie*, vol. 1, 128–29.

109. Holbach, *Le bon sens*, 224. Emphasis added.

110. Holbach, *Le christianisme dévoilé*, 101–3.

111. Holbach, *Système de la nature. Ou des loix du monde physique & du monde moral. Par M. Mirabaud* (London [i.e., Amsterdam], 1770), vol. 2, 318.

112. Holbach, *Le christianisme dévoilé*, 226–27.

113. Holbach, *Système social. Ou principes naturels de la morale et de la politique. Avec un examen de l'influence du gouvernement sur les moeurs* (London [i.e., Amsterdam], 1773), vol. 2, 96.

114. Holbach, *Système de la nature*, vol. 2, 318. Emphasis added.

115. Holbach, *Essai sur les préjugés, ou, de l'influence des opinions sur les mœurs & sur le bonheur des hommes. Ouvrage contenant l'apologie de la philosophie* (London [i.e., Amsterdam], 1770), 299–300. There is an extensive historiography on the rise of "public opinion" in eighteenth-century France. See, for example, Sarah Maza, "Domestic Melodrama as Political Ideology: The Case of the Comte de Sanois," *American Historical Review* 94 (1989): 1249–64; and Keith Michael Baker, "Public Opinion as Political Invention," in his *Inventing the French Revolution*, 166–99.

116. Holbach, *La politique naturelle, ou discours sur les vrais principes du gouvernement. Par un ancien magistrat* (London [i.e., Amsterdam], 1773), vol. 2, 170.

117. Holbach, *La politique naturelle*, vol. 2, 171. Rousseau claimed that "the countries where executions are the most terrible are those where they are the most frequent," thus casting doubt on their efficacy. "Discours sur l'économie politique"

(1755), in his *Œuvres choisies*, vol. 2, 190. Cf. Rousseau's article "Économie," in *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, par une société de gens de lettres* (Paris, 1772), vol. 5, 340.

118. Holbach, *La politique naturelle*, vol. 2, 170.

Chapter Three

1. I would like to thank Michael Laffan and Max Weiss for their thoughtful comments and hard work as editors, and Elizabeth Montañez Sanabria, who helped me by double-checking a few things in the wonderful Legajo 80.

2. Accounts in English include Lillian E. Fisher, *The Last Inca Revolt, 1780–1783* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966); Charles F. Walker, *Smoldering Ashes: Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999); and the essays in Steve Stern, ed., *Resistance, Rebellion, and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World, 18th to 20th Centuries* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987). Fundamental in Spanish is Boleslao Lewin, *La rebelión de Tupac Amaru* (Buenos Aires: SELA, 1967); see also Carlos Daniel Valcárcel, *Tupac Amaru: El Revolucionario* (Lima: Moncloa Campodonico, 1970). This introduction builds from my preface to Ward Stavig and Ella Schmidt, eds., *The Tupac Amaru and Catarista Rebellions: An Anthology of Sources* (Cambridge, Mass.: Hackett Publishing, 2008), xxiii–xxxv.

3. Augusto Ramos Zambrano cites estimates that range from ten thousand to sixty thousand. Augusto Ramos Zambrano, *Puno en la rebelión de Tupac Amaru* (Puno: Universidad Nacional Técnica del Altiplano, 1982), 77–78.

4. See Fisher, *The Last Inca Revolt*, 111–139.

5. Archivo General de Indias [hereafter AGI], Charcas, Legajo 596, quad. 3, "Testimonio formado sobre el alzamiento de la Prov. de Tinta," no date.

6." Sentence Pronounced in Cuzco by the Visitador D. José Antonio de Areche against José Gabriel Tupac Amaru, His Wife, Children, and Other Principal Prisoners," in Stavig and Schmidt, *The Tupac Amaru and Catarista Rebellions*, doc. 60, 130–135; Walker, *Smoldering Ashes*, 57–59.

7. "Letter that a Subject and Resident of Cuzco, Who Respects the Visitador, Wrote to a Confidant," in Stavig and Schmidt, *The Tupac Amaru and Catarista Rebellions*, doc. 66, p. 146.

8 .These documents are found in Stavig and Schmidt, *The Tupac Amaru and Catarista Rebellions*, docs. 66, 71, and 72, pp. 144–147, 156–159. They rely in turn on two substantial published document collections: *Colección documental del bicentenario de la revolución emancipadora de Tupac Amaru*, 4 vols. (Lima, 1980); and the *Colección documental de la independencia del Perú*, 3 vols. (Lima, 1972), esp. vol. 2, *La rebellion de Tupac Amaru*.

9. For studies with a keen comparative eye, see Scarlett O'Phelan Godoy, *Un siglo de rebeliones anticoloniales: Perú y Bolivia, 1700–1783* (Cuzco: CBC, 1988); Sergio Serulnikov, *Subverting Colonial Authority: Challenges to Spanish Rule in Eighteenth-Century Southern Andes* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003); Sinclair Thomson, *We Alone Will Rule: Native Andean Politics in the Age of Insurgency* (Madison:

University of Wisconsin Press, 2002). Much more needs to be known about the impact of the rebellion beyond the Andes.

10. Alberto Flores Galindo, *In Search of an Inca*, edited and translated by Carlos Aguirre, Willie Hiatt, and Charles Walker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), chap. 5, esp. 115–119; Walker, *Smoldering Ashes*, 57–61.

11. The exception would be Lewin, *La rebelión*.

12. See the work of Scarlett O'Phelan Godoy, esp. *Un siglo*; Ward Stavig, *The World of Tupac Amaru: Conflict, Community and Identity in Colonial Peru* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999); David T. Garrett, *Shadows of Empire: The Indian Nobility of Cuzco, 1750–1825* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); and the essays found in Stern, ed., *Resistance, Rebellion*, especially Magnus Morner and Efraín Trelles, "A Test of Causal Interpretations of the Túpac Amaru Rebellion," 94–109.

13. Based on the New Testament, Canon Law developed over the centuries, particularly through papal decrees and ecumenical councils. For an overview, see James Coriden, *An Introduction to Canon Law* , revised ed. (New York: Paulist Press, 2004), 3–32. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, "Fear (In Canon Law)," www.newadvent .org/cathen/06020b.htm, accessed September 27, 2007.

14. John P. Beal, James A. Corriden, and Thomas J. Green, eds. *New Commentary on the Code of Canon Law* (New York: Paulist Press, 2000), 179–180, 1542–1544, 1727–1730. Revised in 1917 and 1983, the Code emerged from the late medieval period and was the guiding framework of the 1780 trials.

15 .Volume 2 of the *Colección documental del bicentenario de la revolución emancipadora de Tupac Amaru* has the Moscoso trials as its theme. Most of the material on Moscoso is from AGI, Lima, Legajos 74–79—the paper trail is literally voluminous. I examine the accusations against Moscoso and his fascinating life in a forthcoming prologue to a facsimile edition of his *Inocencia justificada contra los artificios de la calumnia* (Lima: Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, 2012 [Madrid, 1790]), a summary of his defense with important documents. On the role of priests in the Tupac Amaru and Tupac Katari rebellions, see Nicholas Robins, *Priest-Indian Conflict in Upper Peru: The Generation of Rebellion, 1750–1780* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2008); David Cahill, "Curas and Social Conflict in the Doctrinas of Cuzco, 1780–1814," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 16, 2 (1984): 241–276; Leon Campbell, "Rebel or Royalist? Bishop Juan Manuel de Moscoso y Peralta and the Túpac Amaru Revolt in Peru, 1780–1784," *Revista de Historia de América* 86 (1978): 135–167; Emilio Garzón Heredia, "1780: Clero, elite local y rebellion," in Charles Walker, ed., *Entre la retórica y la insurgencia* (Cuzco: CBC, 1996), 245–271; and for an important document collection, *Tupac Amaru y la iglesia: antología* (Lima: Edubanco, 1983).

16. Lewin, *La Rebelión*, esp. 234–242.

17. This is a key theme in the book that I am writing on the Tupac Amaru uprising (Harvard University Press, 2012). I have found information that shows that Bishop Moscoso demanded that priests stay.

18. *Colección documental del bicentenario*, vol. 3, pp. 1, 111.

19. AGI, Lima, Legajo 1041, letter from Tupac Amaru to Señor Justicia Mayor Don Valeriano Bejarano, Yauri, December 2, 1780.

20. Ibid.

21. AGI, Lima, Legajo 1041, Moscoso to Viceroy Jáuregui, Cuzco, December 21, 1780.

22. AGI, Lima, Legajo 1041, Moscoso to Don Francisco Areta, Cuzco, December 9, 1780.

23. *Inocencia justificada*, 44–45, quote from 45.

24. Moscoso, *Inocencia justificada*, 40–41.

25. *Colección documental del bicentenario*, vol. 2, *Descargos*, 659–664, letter from May 7, 1781.

26. Ibid., 664–665, letter from July 15, 1781.

27. Ibid., 667–668, letter from July 16, 1781.

28. Ibid., 668–671, 672–673, and 673.

29. Bohumir Roedl, "Causa Tupa Amaro. El proceso a los tupamaros en Cuzco, abril-julio de 1781," *Revista Andina* 34 (2002): 99–119.

30. The transcript of the trials is in Archivo General de Indias, Cuzco, Legajo 80 (hereafter AGI, Cuzco, Leg. 80), "Causas contra varios curas por las rebeliones del Perú. 1785–1795." A bit more information is found in *Colección documental del bicentenario*, vol. 2, *Descargos*, 673–675.

31. AGI, Cuzco, Leg. 80, "Causas contra varios curas por las rebeliones del Perú. 1785–1795," trial against Juan de Luna, letter from February 10, 1781, from Pedro Juan de Luna to Micaela Bastidas.

32. AGI, Cuzco, Leg. 80, testimony from June 1782.

33. AGI, Cuzco, Leg. 80, trial against Domingo Escalante.

34. AGI, Cuzco, Leg. 80. Escalante was absolved in June 1782.

35. Many contemporaries suggested that Micaela was the fiercer or better soldier. This was in part an effort to feminize José Gabriel and masculinize Micaela. It also reflected Micaela's central role and skill as a commander. See Renata Fernández Domínguez, "Micaela Bastidas en la Historia, Literatura, y Cultura Peruana. Análisis de sus reconfiguraciones discursivas," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Kentucky, 2005; Mariselle Meléndez, "La dimension discursiva del miedo y la economía del poder en las cartas y autos de Micaela Bastidas, 1780–1781," *Dieciocho* 21, 2 (Fall 1998): 181–193.

36. AGI, Cuzco, Leg. 80, letter from Yanaoca, December 26, 1780.

37. AGI, Cuzco, Leg. 80, trial against Don Carlos Rodrigues y Avila. His testimony is from July 1782.

38. AGI, Cuzco, Leg. 80, trial against José Antonio Tapia. His letter to Tupac Amaru is from Ayaviri, January 28, 1781.

39. On this issue, see *Tupac Amaru y la iglesia*; Garzón Heredia, "1780: Clero, elite local y rebellion"; Scarlett O'Phelan Godoy, *La gran rebelión en los andes: De Tupac Amaru a Tupac Catari* (Cuzco: CBC, 1995).

40. AGI, Cuzco, Leg. 80, trial against Buenaventura Tapia, letter from San Pablo de Cacha, December 23, 1780.

41. AGI, Cuzco, Leg. 80, testimony from Tapia, no date.

42. AGI, Cuzco, Leg. 80, no date specified in sentence, 1782.

43. AGI, Cuzco, Leg. 80, trial against Don Martín Castilla, no dates.

44. AGI, Cuzco, Leg. 80, letter from March 4, 1781.

45. AGI, Cuzco, Leg. 80, quote in testimony from Capitán Don Hilario Yañez, Cuzco, no date.

46. AGI, Cuzco, Leg. 80, anonymous prosecutor.

47. AGI, Cuzco, Leg. 80, testimony by Gregorio de Yepes, no date.

48. AGI, Cuzco, Leg. 80, trial against Don Antonio Chaves. The letter to Tupac Amaru is from Sicuani, January 20, 1781.

49. AGI, Cuzco, Leg. 80. Gallegos's letters are from Layo and only give the year, 1781. Tupac Amaru's is from Tinta, January 20, 1781.

50. AGI, Cuzco, Leg. 80. The prosecutors asked witnesses to corroborate that Gallegos had put his life at risk repeatedly for the royalist cause and that he had aided in the leaders' capture. Their adamant confirmation led to his absolution.

51. AGI, Cuzco, Leg. 80, trial of Fr. Pedro Baltazar Vargas de la Daga, no date for testimony.

52. Ibid.

53. Brooke Larson, "Caciques, Class Structure and the Colonial State in Bolivia," *Nova Americana* 2 (1979): 197–235; Nuria Sala I Vila, *Y se armó el tole tole: Tributo indígena y movimientos sociales en el virreinato del Perú, 1784–1814* (Lima: IER José María Arguedas, 1996).

54. AGI, Cuzco, Leg. 80, trial of Don Pedro Solis. His letter to Tupac Amaru is from Quiquijana, December 20, 1780. No date for his testimony.

55. Thousands of pages are found on López y Sosa not only in AGI, Cuzco, Leg. 80, but in several others as well.

56. Moscoso, *Inocencia justificada*, 44–48. They were held in church cells, not the common jail.

57. See the case of Agustín Herrera and Maria Santos de Valencia, husband and wife, who as merchants brought wine from Arequipa to Cuzco in late November 1780. They checked in at the Tupac Amaru camp in Tungasuca to get permission to proceed and ended up sharing a meal with Tupac Amaru and Micaela Bastidas. This was unthinkable a year later, when the rebellion raged to the south. AGI, Lima, Legajo 1041.

58. See Jan Szeminski, "Why Kill the Spaniard? New Perspectives on Andean Insurrectionary Ideology in the 18th Century," in Stern, *Resistance, Rebellion*, 166–192.

59. The documentation is very clear about increasing violence in the latter half of 1781, particularly in the south or *collao*. For analysis, see Alberto Flores Galindo, "Tupac Amaru y la sublevación de 1780," in his *Tupac Amaru II—1780* (Lima: Retablo de Papel, 1976), 269–323; Iván Hinojosa, "El nudo colonial: La violencia en el movimiento tupamarista," *Pasado y presente* (Lima) 2, 3 (1989): 73–82.

60. For an important study that develops this argument, see Arno Mayer, *The Furies: Violence and Terror in the French and Russian Revolutions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

61. On Juan Santos, see Steve Stern, "The Age of Andean Insurrection," in Stern, *Resistance, Rebellion*, 34–93; Stefano Varese, *Salt of the Mountain: Campa Asháninka History and Resistance in the Peruvian Jungle* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002). On fear in Peru, see Claudia Rosas Lauro, ed., *El miedo en el Perú, siglos xvi al xx* (Lima: PUC, 2005).

62. William D. Naphy and Penny Roberts, eds., *Fear in Early Modern Society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997); Jean Delumeau, *El miedo en occidente* (Madrid: Taurus, 1989 [*La peur en Occident*, 1978]); Alessa Johns, ed., *Dreadful*

Visitations: Confronting Natural Catastrophes in the Age of the Enlightenment (New York: Routledge, 1999). Delumeau emphasizes how the Catholic Church fanned the flames of these concerns. This overly abbreviated summary builds from my *Shaky Colonialism: The 1746 Earthquake-Tsunami in Lima, Peru, and Its Long Aftermath* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).

63. Corey Robin, *Fear: The History of an Idea* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 75.

64. On this, see Flores Galindo, *In Search of an Inca*, 121–130; Walker, *Smoldering Ashes*, 84–120; Mark Thurner, *From Two Republics to One Divided: Contradictions of Postcolonial Nation-making in Andean Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996).

65. For one of the earlier uses of the term, see Flores Galindo, "Tupac Amaru y la sublevación," esp. 305–310.

66. One study estimates ten million Quechua speakers. Kendall King and Nancy Hornberger, "Introduction: Why a Special Issue about Quechua?" *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 167 (2004): 1–8. Other estimates vary widely.

67. I argue this extensively in my *Smoldering Ashes*, particularly chapter 3.

68. The literature on Haiti is vast. Among key works, see David P. Geggus, ed., *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2001); Sibylle Fischer, *Modernity Disavowed: Haiti and the Cultures of Slavery in the Age of Revolution* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004); Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995).

69. For an insightful comparison of the abolition of slavery in Peru and Haiti, see Carlos Aguirre, "Silencios y ecos: La historia y el legado de la abolición de la esclavitud en Haití y Perú," *A Contracorriente* 3, 1 (2005): 1–37.

Chapter Four

1. See Randall Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area, l769–l810* (Menlo Park: Ballena Press, 1995); Steven Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769–1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2005); and John Johnson, "The Chumash and the Missions," in David Hurst Thomas, ed., *Columbian Consequences* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Press, 1989), vol. 1, 365–376.

2. On translation and the power of the translator, see Vicente Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993); and Louise Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth: Nahua-Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Tuscson: University of Arizona Press, 1989).

3. For the emergence and complexity of colonial legal and social categories, see María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008).

4. On the problems with Indian equality, citizenship, and communal land rights in Mexico, see the essays in Antonio Escobar Ohmstede, ed., *Indio, Nación y Comunidad en el México del Siglo XIX* (Mexico: Centro de Estudios Mexicanos y Centroamericanos, l993). See also Manuel Ferrer Muñoz and María Bono López, *Pueblos Indígenas y Estado Nacional en Mexico en el Siglo XIX* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico, 1998). I take this up in my forthcoming book *Saints and Citizens: Indigenous Histories of Colonial Missions and Mexican California* (University of California Press, forthcoming, 2012).

5. In this text I refer to the Chumash account of Fernando Librado Kitsepawit in Travis Hudson, Thomas Blackburn, Roasario Curletti, and Janice Timbrook, eds., *The Eye of the Flute: Chumash Traditional History and Ritual as Told by Fernando Librado Kitsepawit* (Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History, l977), and the Luiseño-English account recorded by Villiana Calac Hyde and Eric Elliott in *Yumáyk Yumáyk / Long Ago* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

6. Fray Pedro Muñoz, *Diario de la Expedition Echa por D Gabriel Moraga de la Compania de San Francisco a los nuevos descubrieientos del tualar*, 2 November 1806, Santa Barbara Mission Archives, Santa Barbara, Calif. (hereafter SBMA), vol. 4, 1–47. See also S. F. Cook, "The Aboriginal Population of the San Joaquin Valley," *Anthropological Records* 16-2 (1955): 31–80.

7. Muñoz, *Diario*, 20–33.

8. David Weber uses the term "fringe of empire" and examines native societies that maintained their autonomy while interacting with the Spanish; see David Weber, *Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

9. See Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); and James Brooks, *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

10. Ned Blackhawk, *Violence over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006); and Cynthia Radding, *Wandering Peoples: Colonialism, Ethnic Spaces, and Ecological Frontiers in Northwestern Mexico, 1700–1830* (Durham: Duke University Press, l997).

11. José Juan Arrom, *Cimarrón* (Santo Domingo: Fundación García-Arévalo, l986), 15.

12. Fray Luis Antonio Muñoz in Donald P. Cutter, ed., *The Writings of Mariano Payeras* (Santa Barbara: Bellerphone Books, l995), 184–185.

13. Fray Jose de la Cruz al gobernador, 5 February 1799, no. 182, Taylor Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, California (hereafter HL).

14. Father Cortes y Tapis á Lasuen Preguntas y Respuestas, 1800, SBMA, 30

15. The Mexican nation had prohibited whipping Indians in l822. Fray Martinez grumbled about it upon reporting the new regulation. Martinez á Payeras, 27 February l823, no. 2393, SBMA. As late as l839, the inspector of the missions still allowed the guard to administer twenty-five lashes against a single individual. "Instruciones a que debe sujetarse el Administrador de la Misión" for Mission San José, 28 Agosto l839, Hartnell C-A 51: 229, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley (hereafter BL).

16. Comandante Maitorena a Comandante General Echeandía, sumaria, 26 April 1829, C-A 18: 394–399, BL.

17. Stephanie Wood, *Transcending Conquest: Nahua Views of Spanish Colonial Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003), 19–20. Wood found one exception from Santo Tomás Ajusco that presented fear along with sadness, anger, and a pragmatic view of defeat.

18. See Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999). George Kubler insisted upon the absence of anything indigenous in New World painting. See Thomas Reeses, ed., *Studies in Ancient American and European Art: The Collected Essays of George Kubler* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

19. See James Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992).

20. Pablo Tac, "Prose Lingua Californese—Studi grammaticali sulla lingua della California," Fondo Speciale Guiseppe Mezzofanti, cartone III, fascicolo 1, Biblioteca Comunale Dell'Archiginnasio Bologna, f. 71. See Lisbeth Haas, *Pablo Tac: Writing on Luiseño Language and Colonial History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

21. Tac, "Lingua Californese," f. 63r–v.

22. Tac, "Lingua Californese," f. 60r–v.

23. See, for example, Miguel Leon-Portilla, ed., *The Broken Spears: The Aztec Account of the Conquest of Mexico* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992), 69; and James Lockhart, *We People Here: Nahuatl Accounts of the Conquest of Mexico* (Los Angeles: UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1992).

24. See Lowell Bean, "Power and Its Applications in Native California," in *California Indian Shamanism* (Menlo Park, Calif.: Ballena Press, 1992), 21–32.

25. See, in this regard, Raymond White, "Religion and Its Role among the Luiseño," in Lowell John Bean and Thomas Blackburn, eds., *Native Californians: A Theoretical Retrospective* (Menlo Park, Calif.: Ballena Press, 1976): 355–378, at 357.

26. Tac, "Lingua Californese," f. 60r.

27. See Ellen Goellner and Jacqueline Shea Murphy, eds., *Bodies of the Text: Dance as Theory, Theory as Dance* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1995), xii; and especially Susan Foster, "Textual Evidances," in ibid., 231–247.

28. Tac, "Lingua Californese," f. 104r.

29. See the argument of Susan Foster as described in Goellner and Murphy, *Bodies of the Text*, xii.

30. Boscana wrote "[h]ardly a day passed without some portion of it being devoted to this insipid and monotonous ceremony." See Father Gerónimo Boscana, *Chinigchinich* (Banning, Calif.: Malki Museum Press, 2005), 57.

31. Tac, "Lingua Californese," f. 104r.

32. Zoila Mendoza, *Shaping Society through Dance: Mestizo Ritual Performance in the Peruvian Andes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

33. Hudson et al., *Eye of the Flute*, 103, no. 46.

34. Hudson et al., *Eye of the Flute*, 83–85, 89.

35. Browning offers vivid descriptions of how the divine in *condomble* inhabit the dancer only if they see their own image in the iconography and choreography.

See Barbara Browning, *Samba: Resistance in Motion* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969).

36. I thank the entire group of Nahuatl speakers and scholars for their reflections on this paper given at the Tepotzlán Institute for the Study of the Americas, Tepotzlán, Mexico, 2008. Though not addressing documents written in the colonial era, they insisted that fear is an important element of Nahuatl culture, expressed most commonly in relation to shamanic practices and thought.

37. Calac Hyde speaks of the shaman healers who did "bad things. They would kill people," and of the ways people came to possess power. See Calac Hyde and Elliott, *Yumáyk Yumáyk*, 50 and 240.

38. Calac Hyde and Elliott, *Yumáyk Yumáyk*, 179.

39. Calac Hyde and Elliott, *Yumáyk Yumáyk*, 45–46.

40. Calac Hyde and Elliott, *Yumáyk Yumáyk*, 200.

41. Fray Juan Cabot to Governor Arguello, 28 February 1824, no. 2539, SBMA.

42. Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Fear* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006).

43. Martinez á Arguello, 30 April 1824, no. 2609, SBMA; and Martinez á Arguello "sobre rebeldes," 1 May l824, no. 2611, SBMA.

44. Fray Sarría, 30 April l824, no. 2610, SBMA. Gil y Taboada á Arguello, Santa Cruz, 5 April l824, no. 2581, SBMA. He again wrote Arguello complaining about whites giving Indians liberal ideas. See Gil y Taboada to Arguello, Santa Cruz, 19 April l824, no. 2600, SBMA. Also see Fray Duran to Governor Arguello on fugitives at San Emigdio who had a Russian with them, 3 March 1824, no. 2596, SBMA; and a letter from Santa Ines about the danger of an Indian attack from Rancho San Emigdio, 26 March 1824, no. 2593, SBMA.

45. See Fray Blas Ordaz, 26 March l824, no. 2593; and his letter of 31 March 1824, conveying the same sentiment, no. 2598, both in SBMA.

46. Fray Ripoll to Fray Sarría, 5 May 1824 (7 handwritten pages), no. 2612, SBMA.

47. Maria Solares, microfilm 690520, reel 007, frames 0011–0020, Harrington Papers (1914), Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives, Suitland, Md. (hereafter HP).

48. Maria Solares, microfilm 690520, reel 007, frames 0011–0020, HP. Also see the edited version in Thomas Blackburn, "The Chumash Revolt of l824: A Native Account," *The Journal of California Anthropology* 2 (Winter 1975): 223–227.

49. Maria Solares, microfilm 690520, reel 007, frames 0011–0020, HP.

50. Joanne Rappaport, *The Politics of Memory: Native Historical Interpretation in the Colombian Andes* (Durham: Duke University Press, l998), 11.

51. Maria Solares, microfilm 690520, reel 007, frames 0011–0020, HP.

52. See Richard Applegate, *?Atishwin: The Dream Helper in South-Central California* (Socorro, N.Mex.: Ballena Press, 1978).

53. Lucretia Garcia, Barbareño informants reading Ineseño, microfilm 690520, reel 26, frames 756–757, HP.

54. Maria Solares, microfilm 690520, reel 007, frames 0011–0020, HP.

55. Lucrecia Garcia, microfilm 690520, reel 55, frames 108–111, HP.

56. Maria Solares, microfilm 690520, reel 007, frames 0011–0020, HP. Note that Valentin is Anglicized as Valentine in the transcripts.

57. Maria Solares, microfilm 690520, reel 007, frames 0011–0020, HP.

58. Luisa Ignacia, microfilm 690520, reel 007, frames 0027–0028, typescript pp. 1–3, HP.

Chapter Five

I would like to thank Anson Rabinbach and the other participants in the Davis Center seminar on fear, as well as the two anonymous readers, for their help with and comments on earlier versions of this paper.

1. Bundesarchiv (hereafter BA) R 1501/125685, 29.3.1933, Bl. 39.
2. BA R 1501/125685, "Dr. Mabuse Verboten!" *Kreuzzeitung*, 89, 30.3.1933, Bl. 42.
3. See BA R 1501/125685, Bl. 48–55.
4. See Patrick McGilligan, *Fritz Lang: The Nature of the Beast* (New York, 1997), ch. 9.
5. Siegfried Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler: A Psychological History of German Film* (New York, 1947), 272.
6. On Mabuse's "expansionist media policy," see Klaus Kreimeier, *The UFA Story: A History of Germany's Greatest Film Company, 1918–1945* (Berkeley, CA, 1996), 88.
7. Detlev Peukert, "Der Schund- und Schmutzpolitik als Sozialpolitik der Seele," in H. Haarmann, ed., *"Das war ein Vorspiel nur…" Bücherverbrennung in Deutschland 1933* (Berlin, 1983), 51–64.
8. See Tom Gunning, *The Films of Fritz Lang: Allegories of Vision and Modernity* (London, 2000), 146.
9. Cited in Maria Tatar, *Lustmord: Sexual Murder in Weimar Germany* (Princeton, NJ, 1995), 154–55.
10. Richard Bessel, *Germany after the First World War* (Oxford, 1993); Cornelie Usborne, *The Politics of the Body in Weimar Germany* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1992).
11. See, for instance, Helenfriederike Stelzner, "Psychopathologisches in der Revolution," *Berliner klinische Wochenschrift* 39 (1919): 933–34; Usborne, *Politics of the Body*, 75.
12. http://www.deutsches-filminstitut.de/zengut/df2tb069z.pdf (accessed 1/31/08).
13. Anton Kaes, *Shell Shock Cinema: Weimar Culture and the Wounds of War* (Princeton, NJ, 2009).
14. Kreimeier, *The UFA Story*, 13.
15. Alfred Döblin, "Das Theater der kleinen Leute" [1909], in A. Kaes, ed., *Kino-Debatte. Texte zum Verhältnis von Literatur und Film* (Tübingen, 1978), 37–38.
16. See, e.g., Robert Gaupp, "Der Kinematograph vom medizinischen und psychologischen Standpunkt" [1912]; Hermann Duenschmann, "Kinematograph und Psychologie der Volksmenge" [1912]; both in A. Kümmel and P. Löffler, eds., *Medientheorie 1888–1933* (Frankfurt a/M, 2002); Robert Gaupp, *Der Kinematograph als Volksunterhaltungsmaterial* (Munich, 1912).
17. For one contemporary expression of this, see Emilie Altenloh, *Zur Soziologie des Kino* (Jena, 1914). See also Kaes, *Kino-Debatte*; Heide Schlüpmann, *Unheimlichkeit des Blicks. Das Drama des frühen deutschen Kinos* (Frankfurt a/M, 1990); Sabine Hake, *Cinema's Third Machine: Writing on Film in Germany, 1907–1933* (Lincoln, NE,

1993); Scott Curtis, "The Taste of a Nation: Training the Senses and Sensibility of Cinema Audiences in Imperial Germany," *Film History* 6 (1994): 445–69.

18. Peukert, "Der Schund- und Schmutzpolitik"; Kaspar Maase and Wolfgang Kaschuba, eds., *Schund und Schönheit. Populäre Kultur um 1900* (Cologne, 2001).

19. Lee Grieveson, *Policing Cinema: Movies and Censorship in Early Twentieth Century America* (Berkeley, CA, 2004).

20. BA R 1501/114033, "Die Kino-Seuche," *Kreuzzeitung*, 17.10.1916, Bl. 170.

21. Stefan Andriopoulos, *Bessesene Körper: Hypnose, Körperschaften und die Erfindung des Kinos* (Munich, 2000). See also Ruth Harris, "Murder under Hypnosis in the Case of Gabrielle Bompard: Psychiatry in the Courtroom in Belle Époque Paris," in W. F. Bynum, R. Porter, and M. Shepherd, eds., *The Anatomy of Madness* (London, 1985), v. 2, 197–241.

22. Jörg Schweinitz, "Der hypnotisierende Blick. Etablierung und Anverwandlung eines konventionellen Bildes," in T. Koebner and T. Meder, eds., *Bildtheorie des Films*, (München, 2006), 426–43. The specifically Jewish features of this cultural motif are explored in Daniel Pick, *Svengali's Web: The Alien Enchanter in Modern Culture* (New Haven, CT, 2000).

23. Albert Hellwig, "Die Beziehungen zwischen Schundliteratur, Schundfilms, und Verbrechen," *Archiv für Kriminalanthropologie und Kriminalistik* 15 (1913): 1–32.

24. Albert Hellwig, "Der Kinematograph vom Standpunkt der Juristen," *Die Hochwart* 3 (1911): 19. See also idem, *Die Schundfilms; ihre Wesen, ihre Gefahren, ihre Bekämpfung* (Halle, 1911); idem, "Über die schädliche Suggestivkraft kinematographische Vorführungen," *Ärztliche Sachverständigenzeitung* 20 (1914): 119–124; idem, "Hypnotismus und Kinematograph," *Zeitschrift für Psychotherapie und medizinische Psychologie* 6 (1916): 310–15.

25. On Weimar film censorship, see Eva Sturm, "Von der Zensurfreiheit zum Zensurgesetz: Das erste deutsche Lichtspielgesetz," in M. Hagener, ed., *Geschlecht in Fesseln. Sexualität zwischen Aufklärung und Ausbeutung im Weimarer Kino 1918–1933* (Munich, 2000), 63–80; Thomas Saunders, *Hollywood in Berlin: American Cinema and Weimar Germany* (Berkeley, CA, 1994), 26–33; Peter Jelavich, *Berlin Alexanderplatz: Radio, Film, and the Death of Weimar Culture* (Berkeley, CA, 2006), 126–55.

26. BA R 1501/111804, RGA to RMdI, betrifft: Hypnotische Vorführungen im Film, 9.8.22.

27. BA R 1501/111804, RGA to RMdI, betrifft: Darstellung der Hypnose im Film, 7.4.22.

28. BA R 1501/11804, Dresden LGA to MdI, 21.8.24.

29. BA R 1501/111804, MdI an den RMdI, 4.8.22.

30. BA R 1501/111804, RGA to RMdI, betrifft: Darstellung der Hypnose im Film, 7.4.22.

31. http://www.deutsches-filminstitut.de/zengut/df2tb204z.pdf (accessed 1/22/08). See also Andriopoulos, *Bessesene Körper*.

32. See, for instance, BA R 86/943, "Die Gefahren des Kino im Urteil des Ärztes," *Vorwärts*, 16.9.20.

33. See, for instance, Ian Hacking, "Making up People," in T. C Heller, M. Sosna, and D. Wellbery, eds., *Reconstructing Individualism* (Stanford, 1986), 222–36; idem, "The Invention of Split Personalities," in Alan Donagan et al., eds., *Human*

Nature and Natural Knowledge (Dordrecht, 1986), 63–85; and idem, *Rewriting the Soul: Multiple Personality and the Sciences of Memory* (Princeton, NJ, 1995).

34. See, e.g., Hans Buchner, *Im Banne des Films: Die Weltherrschaft des Kinos* (Munich, 1927).

35. BA R 1501/111804. One twenty-year-old thief claimed in court that he carried out his crime under the hypnotic influence of an unknown person; his knowledge of hypnosis apparently derived from public demonstrations, films, and cheap pamphlets. See Geheimes Staatsarchiv (GSA) HA Rep. 76/1325, Bl. 60–65.

36. See http://www.deutsches-filminstitut.de/zengut/df.2tb204z.pdf (accessed 7/30/07.)

37. See Fritz Giese, *Girlkultur: Vergleiche zwischen amerikanischem und europäischem Rhythmus und Lebensgefühl* (Munich, 1925). See also Belinda Davis, "Reconsidering Habermas, Gender, and the Public Sphere: The Case of Wilhelmine Germany," in Geoff Eley, ed., *Society, Culture and the State in Germany, 1870–1930* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1996), 397–426; Eve Rosenhaft, "Lesewut, Kinosucht, Radiotismus: Zur (geschlechter-) politischen Relevanz neuer Massenmedien in den 1920er Jahren," in A. Ludtke, ed., *Amerikanisierung: Traum und Alptraum in Deutschland des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1996), 119–43.

38. See Doris Kaufmann, "Science as Cultural Practice: Psychiatry in the First World War and Weimar Germany," *Journal of Contemporary History* 34, 1 (1999): 125–44; and, on the wider dimensions of this, Nikolas Rose, *Governing the Soul: The Shaping of the Private Self* (London, 1989).

39. Leopold Lowenfeld, *Die Suggestion in ihrer Bedeutung für den Weltkrieg* (Wiesbaden, 1917), 5. See also Walther Moede, *Experimentelle Massenpsychologie* (Leipzig, 1920); Julius Wagner-Jauregg, *Telepathie und Hypnose im Verbrechen* (Vienna, 1919); Sigmund Freud, *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego* (New York, 1959 [1921]). For earlier writings on this topic, see Willy Hellpach, *Die Geistigen Epidemien* (Frankfurt, 1907); Helenefriderike Steltzner, "Aktuelle Massensuggestion," *Archiv für Psychiatrie* 55 (1914–15): 365–88.

40. Tatar, *Lustmord*, 48.

41.GSA Rep 76, 1325, PMV to RMdI, 8. Jan. 1926, Bl. 522–27.

42. For one account, see Georg Grosz, *Georg Grosz: An Autobiography* (New York, 1946), 141–47.

43. Max Dessoir, "Wilde Psychologen," *Leipziger Tageblatt*, 4.9.1919.

44. See Paul Lerner, "Hysterical Cures: Hypnosis, Gender and Performance in World War I and Weimar Germany," *History Workshop Journal* 45 (1998): 79–101; idem, *Hysterical Men: War, Psychiatry, and the Politics of Trauma in Germany, 1890–1930* (Ithaca, NY, 2003), 88–102.

45. BA R 1501/11804, Dresden LGA to MdI, 21.8.24.

46. BA R 1501/11804 RAHV, "Warnung vor scheinbar nicht hypnotischen Experimenten." See also Kurt Eissler, *Freud as an Expert Witness: The Discussion of War Neuroses between Freud and Wagner-Jauregg* (Madison, CT, 1986).

47. Corinna Treitel, *A Science for the Soul: Occultism and the Birth of the German Modern* (Baltimore, 2004).

48. BA R 1501/111804, Schrenk-Notzing, "Die Wachsuggestion auf der offentliche Schaubühne," 22.10.1919.

49. BA R 1501/111804, PMVW to RMdI, 8.1.26.

50. GSA HA Rep. 76/1325, Bl. 49–50.

51. Usborne, *Politics of the Body*. See also BA R 1501/111804: RGA to RMdI, PMVW to RMdI, 18.8.1922.

52. See, for instance, BA R 1501/111803, Petition von gehielten Patienten gegen des Hypnoseverbot, Bl. 11.

53. GSA HA Rep. 76/1325, Bl. 71.

54. BA R 1501/111804, Schrenk-Notzing; Treitel, *Science for the Soul*.

55. The phrase "specialists of inwardness" is Georg Lukacs's. See also Treitel, *Science for the Soul*, 135.

56. BA R 1501/111804, PMVW to RMdI, 8.1.26.

57. On the relation between science and "magic" in the treatment of wartime neurotics, see Lerner, "Hysterical Cures", ch. 4.

58. See, for instance, Treitel, *Science for the Soul*, 236.

59. Walter Benjamin noted that the purpose of Brechtian theater was to create a new, more engaged public in place of the old audience that was essentially "a mass of hypnotized test subjects." Walter Benjamin, *Understanding Brecht* (London, 2003), 2.

60. BA R 1501 111804, Verband der Heilkundiger Deutschlands, to RMdI and PMV, 2.2.23.

61. Treitel, *Science for the Soul*.

62. The most complete account of Hanussen's career, including his murder in March 1933 by the Nazis, is Wilfried Kugel, *Hanussen. Die wahre Geschichte des Hermann Steinschneider* (Dusseldorf, 1998). A more sensationalized version is Mel Gordon's *Erik Jan Hanussen: Hitler's Jewish Clairvoyant* (Los Angeles, 2001). The conspiracy theories concerning Hanussen's alleged role in hypnotizing Marinus van der Lubbe, the man tried and executed for the Reichstag fire, may be regarded as another version of the fantasy of criminal suggestion. See Kugel, *Hanussen*; and for a critique of this reading, Anson Rabinbach, "Staging Antifascism: The Brown Book of the Reichstag Fire and Hitler Terror," *New German Critique* 103 (2008): 97–126.

63. The Hellwig archives at the Institut für Grenzgebiete der Psychologie und Psychohygiene in Freiburg contain extensive documentation on cases of "criminal telepathy."

64. On the possibility of a more positive reading of hypnosis and other mediumistic practices, see Michael Cowan, *Cult of the Will: Nervousness and German Modernity* (University Park, PA, 2008); Jonathan Crary, *Suspensions of Perception: Attention, Spectacle, and Modern Culture* (Cambridge, MA, 2001); Michael Saler, "Modernity and Enchantment: A Historiographic Review," *American Historical Review* 111, 3 (2006): 692–716.

65. Robert Proctor, *The Nazi War on Cancer* (Princeton, NJ, 2000), 49.

66. Peter Fritzsche, "Landscape of Danger, Landscape of Design: Crisis and Modernism in Weimar Germany," in Kniesche and Brockmann, eds. *Dancing on the Volcano: Essays on the Culture of the Weimar Republic* (Columbia, SC, 1994), 29–46; idem, "Did Weimar Fail?" *Journal of Modern History* 68 (1996): 629–56; Greg Eghigian, Andreas Killen, and Christine Leuenberger, eds., "The Self as Project: Politics and the Human Sciences in the Twentieth Century," *Osiris* 22 (2007), 9ff.

67. On the "experimentalization of everyday life," see Cornelius Borck, "Sound Work and Visionary Prosthetics: Artistic Experiments in Raoul Haussman" in *Papers of Surrealism* 4 (Winter 2005).

68. Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler*.

69. See Hagener, *Geschlecht in Fesseln*; Usborne, *Politics of the Body*, 119ff.

70. Klaus Kreimeier, ed., *Geschichte des dokumentarischen Films in Deutschland, Bd. 2 Weimarer Republik 1918–1933* (Stuttgart, 2005); Ulf Schmidt, "'Der Blick auf den Körper': Sozialhygienische Filme, Sexualaufklärung und Propaganda in der Weimarer Republik," in Hagener, *Geschlecht in Fesseln*, 23–46.

71. See, e.g., BA R 86/943, letter, Bild- und Film-Amt to KGA, 31.8.18; K. Thomalla to RGA, Medizinische Kinematographie, 17.1.23; letter, Ufa to RGA, 11.1.23; letter, Kossofilm to RGA, 31.7.23.

72. Gary Stark, "Cinema, Society, and the State: Policing the Film Industry in Imperial Germany," in Stark, ed., *Essays on Culture and Society in Modern Germany* (Arlington, TX, 1982), 160–65; Kreimeier, *The UFA Story*.

73. On histories of popular hygiene, see Michael Hau, *The Cult of Health and Beauty in Germany* (Chicago, 2003); Philipp Sarasin, *Reizbare Maschinen: Eine Geschichte des Körpers* (Frankfurt a/M, 2001).

74. BA R 1501/109370, RMdI to Landesregierungen, Bl 22.

75. BA R 86/937, "Arzte an der Front! Gesundheitsfeldzug 1927."

76. Alison Winter, *Mesmerized: Powers of Mind in Victorian Britain* (Chicago, 1998), 7.

77. BA R1501/109371, "Trügerische Aufklärung," *Freie Presse*, 27.4.1922, Bl. 154.

78. See BA R1501/111804, "Ein wissenschaftlicher Hypnose-film." In 1937, the Nazi regime commissioned a scientific film on hypnosis that dealt with this topic as well. See Ulf Schmidt, *Medical Films, Ethics and Euthanasia in Nazi Germany, 1933–1945* (Husum, 2002), 163ff.

79. Saunders, *Hollywood in Berlin*; Hagener, *Geschlecht in Fesseln*. See also BA R 86/943, "Aufklärungsfilm als Schundfilm," 31.7.19.

80. BA R 1501/111804, Filmoberprüfstelle, "Das verlorene Ich." My account relies on the censor file relating to this film. This document can also be found at http://www.deutsches-filminstitut.de/filme/f035498.htm.

81. BA R 86/943, "Betrügerische Medien." This document can also be found at http://www.deutsches-filminstitut.de/filme/f017646.htm. My account relies on the censor files relating to this film.

82. On this general question, see Corey Ross, *Media and the Making of Modern Germany* (Oxford, 2008).

83. Cited in Eric Rentschler, *The Ministry of Illusion: Nazi Cinema and Its Afterlife* (Cambridge, MA, 1996), 231.

84. On the extent to which Nazi film avoided explicit propaganda, see David Welch, *The Third Reich: Politics and Propaganda* (London, 2002); Kreimeier, *The UFA Story*; Ross, *Media and the Making of Modern Germany*.

85. Cited in Treitel, *Science for the Soul*, 240.

86. McGilligan, *Fritz Lang*, ch. 9.

87. McGilligan, *Fritz Lang*.

88. See BA R 1501/124685. The censor's comment is worth citing at length: "Every film works principally through the image. I find it highly unlikely that this frame

will substantially lessen the effects of this horrible film. It strikes me as peculiar that a fig leaf corresponding to National Socialist criminal law is being created for this scandalous film (*Schandfilm*), purely for the purpose of giving it a permit." Bl. 49.

89. Gunning, *Films of Fritz Lang*, 148.

90. See McGilligan, *Fritz Lang*, 183.

Chapter 6

1. Enzo Traverso, *The Origins of Nazi Violence* (New York, 2003).

2. George Frederikson, *Racism* (Princeton, NJ, 2002), 52.

3. "Il Manifesto della razza," *Il Giornale d'Italia*, July 14, 1938.

4. "Legge Razziali," *Regio Decreto-Legge*, November 15, 1938, no. 1779.

5. See Emilio Gentile, *The Struggle for Modernity: Nationalism, Futurism, and Fascism* (Westport, CT, 2003); see also Roger Griffin, *Modernism and Fascism: The Sense of a Beginning under Mussolini and Hitler* (New York, 2007).

6. Emilio Gentile, *Il culto di littorio: La sacralizzazione della politica nell'Italia Fascista* (Bari, 1993); and David Roberts, "Myth Style and Substance in the Totalitarian Dynamic in Fascist Italy," *Contemporary European History* 16-1 (2007): 4.

7. Gentile, *Struggle for Modernity*, 7.

8. Richard Bosworth, "War, Totalitarianism and 'Deep Belief' in Fascist Italy, 1935–43," *European History Quarterly* 34-4 (October 2004): 475; and Bosworth, *Mussolini's Italy: Life Under the Fascist Dictatorship* (London, 2006).

9. James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State* (New Haven and London, 1998).

10. On Italian public opinion under Fascism, see Simona Colarizi, *L'opinione degli Italiani sotto il regime* (Bari, 1991). For a lengthy study of individual dissent, based on the files of the "confinati" (the detained or confined), as an indication of the failure of the Fascist project, see Bosworth, *Mussolini's Italy*.

11. See Angelo d'Orsi, *La rivoluzione antibolscevica* (Milan, 1985); Giulia Albanese, *La Marcia su Roma* (Rome-Bari, 2006); Pasquale Consentini, *Per non dimenticare: barbarie e bestialità dei rossi negli anni del dopo-guerra* (PNF, Ufficio di Propaganda, 1924).

12. Paolo Spriano, *Storia del Partito comunista italiano*, vol. 2 (Turin, 1969), 18–122.

13. Francesco Di Pretoro, *Guerra rivoluzionaria e rivoluzione guerriera: gli anni della vigilia alla Mosta della rivoluzione fascista* (Quaderno no. 7–8 dell'Istituto Fascista di Cultura, Chieti, 1934), 13.

14. Marla Stone, "Staging Fascism: The Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution," *Journal of Contemporary History* 28 (1993): 215–43; and Jeffrey Schnapp, "Epic Demonstrations: Fascist Modernity and the Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution," in Richard Golsan, ed., *Fascism, Aesthetics and Culture* (Lebanon, NH, 1992).

15. Claudio Fogu, "Il Duce Taumaturgo: Modernist Rhetorics in Fascist Representations of History," *Representations* 57 (Winter 1999): 39.

16. Dino Alfieri and Luigi Freddi, *Mostra della rivoluzione fascista* (Rome, 1934) 191.

17. Ag. N., "La Guerra civile in Spagna," *Critica Fascista* 16-18 (July 15, 1938): 279.

18. For example, Luigi Mosca, *Camicie Nere a Guadalajara* (Naples, 1940), and Francesco Di Pretoro, *Fascismo e Bolscevismo nell'Europa e nel Mondo* (Biblioteca Popolare di Cultura Politica, Florence, 1940) underscore Spain as the first skirmish in "Bolshevism's great new global offensive."

19. Di Pretoro, *Fascismo e Bolscevismo*, 42

20. Curzio Malaparte [Kurt Erich Suckert], "Italiani in Spagna," *Prospettive*, no. 6 (second edition, 1939).

21. For one soldier's account, see Francesco Belforte, *La guerra civile in Spagna* (Rome, 1938).

22. *L'assedio dell'Alcazar* (1940), Italy/Spain, Bassoli Films (112 minutes, black and white). By 1940, Genina was well on his way to a reputation as the foremost director of films that idealized Fascism at war, having finished *Lo squadrone bianco* (The White Squadron), a celebration of Fascist colonialism in 1936. In 1942, he directed *Bengasi*, the story of the British wartime occupation of the Italian colonial city.

23. Genina and his research assistant, Alberto Bargelesi, interviewed "600 people, among the soldiers, women, elderly, and children who survived the siege." Filippo Sacchi, *Il Corriere della sera*, November 3, 1940. Bargelesi went on to use this material for his own contribution to the pro-Fascist cause, a recounting of the siege of the Alcazar titled *L'epopea dell'Alcazar* (Istituto di propaganda libraria, Milan, 1941).

24. Mino Argentieri, *Il cinema in guerra: arte, comunicazione e propaganda in Italia, 1940–1944* (Rome, 1998), 55–60.

25. Sergio Grmek Germani and Vittorio Martinelli, *Il cinema di Augusto Genina* (Biblioteca dell'Immagine, 1989) 259.

26. Marcia Landy, *Fascism in Film* (Princeton, NJ, 1986), 218–19.

27. The details and timing of Luis Moscardo's capture and death remain unclear.

28. Michelangelo Antonioni, "La sorpresa veneziana," *Cinema* 102, September 25, 1940.

29. Argentieri, *Cinema in guerra*, 59–60.

30. Volpone (Pietro Bianchi), *Bertoldo*, November 11, 1940.

31. Giovanni Ansaldo, "Pensieri sulla nuova Europa," *Berlin-Rom-Tokio*, 4-10 (October 1942), 3.

32. On Fascist racial policy and anti-Semitism, see Renzo De Felice, *Storia degli ebrei italiani sotto il fascismo* (Turin, 1993); Angelo Del Boca, *Italiani, brava gente?* (Vicenza, 2005); Michele Sarfatti, *Gli ebrei nell'Italia Fascista. Vicende, identità, persecuzione* (Turin, 2000); Giorgio Israel and Pietro Nastasi, *Scienza e razza nell'Italia fascista* (Bologna, 1998).

33. Aaron Gillette, *Racial Theories in Fascist Italy* (London and New York, 2002).

34. Valentina Pisanty, *La difesa della razza: antologia 1938–1943* (Milan, 2006); Sandro Servi, "Building a Racial State: Images of the Jew in the Illustrated Fascist Magazine, *La Difesa della Razza*, 1938–43," in Joshua Zimmerman, ed., *Jews in Italy under Fascist and Nazi Rule* (New York, 2004); Centro Furio Jesi, ed., *La menzogna della razza* (Bologna, 1994).

35. Gianni Sciola, ed., *L'Italia in Guerra, 1940–43: Immagini e temi della propaganda fascista* (Fondazione Luigi Micheletti, Brescia, 1989), 43–48.

36. Francesco Di Pretorio, *Fascismo e Bolscevismo nell'Europa e nel Mondo* (Florence, 1940), 42.

37. Stato Maggiore R. Esercito, *Prima Mostra degli Artisti Italiani in Armi* (Rome, 1942); *Feldgraue Italienische Künstler Stellen aus* (Fertigstellung, Rome, 1942).

38. Francesco Sapori, introduction, in Stato Maggiore R. Esercito, *Prima Mostra*, 20.

39. Stato Maggiore R. Esercito, *Prima Mostra*, 36, 37.

40. The government paid 4,000 lire for this charcoal watercolor, the highest price it paid for any of the seventeen works of art it bought from this exhibition. It spent a total of 25,000 lire. Archivio Centrale dello State, Presidenza Consiglio dei Ministri, Rome, Italy (1940–43) 14.1.47872.

41. Ruth Ben-Ghiat, "Italian Fascists and National Socialists," in Richard Etlin, ed., *Art, Culture, and Media under the Third Reich* (Chicago, 2002), 276.

42. On Fascist wartime film production and the last film festival organized under Fascism, see Marla Stone, "The Last Film Festival: The Venice Biennale Goes to War," in Jacqueline Reich and Piero Garofalo, eds., *Reviewing Fascism* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 2002), 293–314.

43. Ruth Ben-Ghiat has written about the war trilogy and its relationship to Rossellini's career: Ruth Ben-Ghiat, "The Fascist War Trilogy," in David Forgacs, Sarah Lutton, and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, eds., *Roberto Rossellini: Magician of the Real* (London, 2000), 20–35.

44. *L'uomo dalla croce* was conspicuously absent from Rossellini's discussions of his filmmaking and from histories of neorealism generally. As a number of film scholars have noted, Rossellini "usually began discussions of his career with *Rome Open City*." Mira Liehm, *Passion and Defiance* (Berkeley, 1984). David Forgacs argues that by the end of war Rossellini "had begun to undergo a political and moral conversion…that would lead him to publicly minimize or disavow the earlier war films he had made for the Fascists." Forgacs, *Rome Open City* (London, 2000), 63. Some of the qualities that would mark the neorealist style appear in *L'uomo dalla croce*, such as outdoor filming, the use of nonprofessional actors, a plot stripped of grandiose detail, and attention to the core issues of survival and death. As has been noted for some time, rather than emerging after or in opposition to Fascism, many of neorealism's roots lay in the Fascist era. See, among others, Gian Piero Brunetta, *Cinema Italiano tra le due guerre* (Mursia, Milan, 1975), 55–59; Ruth Ben-Ghiat, *La cultura fascista* (Il Mulino, Bologna, 2000), 83–120; Peter Bondanella, "The Making of *Roma Città Aperta*," in Sidney Gottlieb, ed., *Roberto Rossellini's Rome Open City* (New York, 2004), 43–66.

45. Liehm, *Passion and Defiance*, 326.

46. *L'uomo dalla croce* (The Man of the Cross), 1943, directed by Roberto Rossellini, screenplay by Rossellini, Asvero Gravelli, Alberto Consiglio, Giovanni D'Alicandro, and Roberto Rossellini, with Alberto Tavazzi and Roswitha Schmidt (77 minutes).

47. Barbara Spackman, "Ways of Looking in Black and White," in Reich and Garofalo, *Reviewing Fascism*, 195.

48. Diego Calcagno, "7 giorni a Roma," *Film*, June 12, 1943.

49. Gi[orgio] Al[mirante], *Il Tevere*, Rome, June 9–10, 1943.

50. Gentile, *Struggle for Modernity*, 8.

Chapter 7

1. Apostolic Letter, "Tertio Millennio Adveniente," of His Holiness Pope John Paul II, November 10, 1994, http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/apost_letters/documents/hf_jp-ii_apl_10111994_tertio-millennio-adveniente_en.html.

2. Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (New York: Penguin, 2004), 6.

3. DC Talk and Voice of the Martyrs, *Jesus Freaks: DC Talk and The Voice of the Martyrs—Stories of Those Who Stood for Jesus, the Ultimate Jesus Freaks* (Grand Rapids, MI: Bethany House Publishers, 1999); DC Talk, *Jesus Freaks, Volume 2: Stories of Revolutionaries Who Changed Their World—Fearing God, Not Man* (Grand Rapids, MI: Bethany House Publishers, 2002).

4. *Apologeticum*, chapter L:13. There are several translations of Tertullian's apologetics. Bill Jordan at Princeton kindly translated it for me as "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of Christians."

5. Elliott Abrams, *The Influence of Faith: Religious Groups and US Foreign Policy* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001).

6. Zygmut Bauman, *Liquid Fear* (Malden, MA: Polity, 2006).

7. The text of the law is at http://usinfo.state.gov/usa/infousa/laws/majorlaw/intlrel.htm.

8. Jeffrey Goldberg, "Washington Discovers Christian Persecution," *New York Times*, December 21, 1997.

9. Elizabeth Castelli, *Martyrdom and Memory: Early Christian Culture Making* (Columbia University Press, 2007).

10. Augustine, *Sermons* 51:2 quoted in ibid., 105.

11. Kathryn Long, "In the Modern World but Not of It: The 'Auca Martyrs,' Evangelicalism, and Postwar American Culture," in *The Foreign Missionary Enterprise at Home* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003), 223–236. Stories of Christian converts who suffered or died were also recounted. See Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008), esp. 150–154. In the 1890s, there was also a great interest in the persecution of Christian Armenians at the hands of Muslim Kurds, although this worked primarily through a narrative of humanitarianism; Ian Tyrrell, *Reforming the World: The Creation of America's Moral Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010).

12. Elizabeth Elliot, *Through Gates of Splendor* (New York: Harper, 1958).

13. Elizabeth Elliot, "Through Gates of Splendor," *Reader's Digest*, August 1956; "Go Ye and Preach the Gospel: Five Do and Die," *Life*, January 30, 1956; Anonymous, "Martyrs' Widows Return to Teach in Jungle," *Life*, May 20, 1957; Elizabeth Elliot, "Missionaries Live with Aucas," *Life*, November 24, 1958. An excellent analysis of the popular response to the Auca martyrs is Kathryn Long, "In the Modern World, but Not of It."

14. Lisa Ann Cockrel, "Reviews: End of the Spear," *Christianity Today Movies,* January 20, 2006.

15. US Congress, House Un-American Activities Committee, *Communist Persecution of Churches in Red China and Northern Korea* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1959).

16. Richard Wurmbrand, *Communist Exploitation of Religion. Hearing, Eighty-ninth Congress* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966); "Cleric Tells of Communist Torture," *New York Times*, May 7, 1966.

17. Richard Wurmbrand, *Tortured for Christ* (Glendale, CA: Diane Books, 1967).

18. Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (New York: Oxford University Press, USA, 1987). I discuss the problematic yet powerful circulation of compassion in evangelical culture in "What Is Your Heart For? Affect and Internationalism in the Evangelical Public Sphere," *American Literary History* 20-4 (December 2008): 870–895.

19. Brother Andrew, *God's Smuggler* (New York: New American Library, 1967). Elizabeth Castelli discusses both of these organizations briefly, and also analyzes the language and rhetoric of the 1990s antipersecution movement, in Elizabeth Castelli, "Praying for the Persecuted Church: US Christian Activism in the Global Arena," *Journal of Human Rights* 4-3 (July 2005): 321–351.

20. Melani McAlister, "Suffering Sisters? American Feminists and the Problem of Female Genital Surgeries," in Michael Kazin and Joseph A. McCartin, eds., *Americanism: New Perspectives on the History of an Ideal* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 242–262.

21. Alexander Solzhenitsyn, *The Gulag Archipelago, 1918–1956: An Experiment in Literary Investigation* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974). Another popular and influential account of human rights violations was Jacobo Timmerman, *Prisoner Without a Name, Cell Without a Number,* published in 1981. On the history of the movement, see Karl Birnbaum, "Human Rights and East-West Relations," *Foreign Affairs* 55-4 (July 1977): 783–799; Vojin Dimitrijevic, "The Place of Helsinki on the Long Road to Human Rights," *Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law* 13-2/3 (Spring–Summer 1980): 253–273.

22 .There is an enormous literature in diplomatic history on Jackson-Vanik. Two useful arguments with differing perspectives are William Koreya, "Jackson-Vanik and Soviet Jewry," *Washington Quarterly* 7-1 (Winter 1984): 116–128, and Noam Kovachi, "Insights Abandoned, Flexibility Lost: Kissinger, Soviet Jewish Emigration, and the Demise of Dètente," *Diplomatic History* 29-3 (June 2005): 503–530; Pauline Peretz, "Nixon et le Vote Juif: La Campagne Presidentielle de 1972," *Vingtième Siécle* 90 (2006): 109–120.

23. Walter Sawatsky, *Soviet Evangelicals since WWII* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2007); US Congress, House Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees and International Law, *Siberian Seven Hearing on HR2873 and S312*, 97th Congress, 2nd session, December 16, 1982.

24. Sara Killian Cooke, "Pray for Those 'Walking to Calvary,'" *Christianity Today,* July 16, 1982. Italics are all in the original.

25. For example: Philippians 1:29, "For it has been granted to you on behalf of Christ not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for him," and 1 Peter 4:13, "But rejoice that you participate in the sufferings of Christ, so that you may be overjoyed when his glory is revealed." And most famously, Jesus' injunction in Luke 9:23, "Then he said to them all: "If anyone would come after me, he must deny himself and take up his cross daily and follow me." All from the New International Version.

26. Cooke, "Pray for Those 'Walking to Calvary,'" 55.

27. This is discussed very broadly among evangelicals, for example, "To Russia, by AD2000," *Christianity Today* 36-8 (July 20, 1992): 49; Brother Andrew, "Evangelism in Challenging Settings: The Church that Loves," in *Proclaim Christ Until He Comes: Calling the Whole Church to Take the Whole Gospel to the Whole World* (Minneapolis, MN: World Wide Publications, 1990), 463.

28. The documents from Lausanne II are at http://www.lausanne.org/nl/manila-1989/manila-1989-documents.html.

29. Luis Bush, "Reaching the Core of the Core," *Renewal Journal* 10 (n.d.), http://www.pastornet.net.au/renewal/journal10/g-bush.html.

30. Tim Stafford, "They Tortured My Friend," *Christianity Today*, July 20, 1992.

31. Kenneth Heineman, *God Is a Conservative: Religion, Politics, and Morality in Contemporary America* (New York: New York University Press, 1998).

32 .Jones, "Who's Afraid of Human Rights?" *Christianity Today*, July 20, 1992.

33. Carl Henry, "A Summons to Justice" (cover story), *Christianity Today*, July 20, 1992.

34. Stafford, "They Tortured My Friend," 30.

35. Max Stackhouse, "Why Human Rights Needs God: A Christian Perspective," in *Does Human Rights Need God?* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Pub., 2005). Although the book is published in 2004, Stackhouse's essay is a revision of a 1998 article.

36. Ibid., 39.

37. Francis Schaeffer, *Escape from Reason*, 1968, reprinted in *The Francis A. Schaeffer Trilogy* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway Books, 1990). See also James Patterson, "Cultural Pessimism in Modern Evangelical Thought: Francis Schaeffer, Carl Henry, and Charles Colson," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 49-4 (December 2006). A useful biography written from an evangelical perspective is *Francis Schaeffer: An Authentic Life* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway Books, 2008). There has been remarkably little work on Schaeffer beyond the evangelical community or other Christian scholarship.

38. Michael Horowitz, "New Intolerance between Crescent and Cross," *Wall Street Journal*, July 5, 1995.

39. Michael Cromartie, "The Jew Who Is Saving Christians," *Christianity Today*, March 1, 1999. Peter Waldman recounts that Colson gave Horowitz an award for his work on persecuted Christians, saying "He sent a Jew into our midst in 1996 to awaken us, a sleeping church." Peter Waldman, "Diplomatic Mission: Evangelicals Give U.S. Foreign Policy an Activist Tinge," *Wall Street Journal*, May 26, 2004. See also Samuel Freedman, "Horowitz's List," *New York Times*, March 31, 1997; Wendy Murray Zoba, "Editorial: Remember Their Chains," *Christianity Today*, August 12, 1996.

40. On the alliance between conservative Catholics and Protestants, see Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), 230–240; Heineman, *God Is a Conservative*.

41. "Groups Focus on Persecuted Church," *Christianity Today*, August 12, 1996; "Churches Wrap Up Persecution Focus," *Christianity Today*, November 17, 1997; "60,000 Churches Join Prayer Effort," *Christianity Today*, October 5, 1998; Editorial, *Today's Christian Woman*, November 11, 2005.

42. Paul A. Marshall, *Their Blood Cries Out: The Untold Story of Persecution against Christians in the Modern World* (Dallas, TX: World Publishing, 1997).

43. Mary Cagney, "Senators Champion Rival Bill on Religious Persecution," *Christianity Today*, May 18, 1998; Alan Hertzke, Freeing God's Children: The Unlikely Alliance for Global Human Rights (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004).

44. Hertzke describes these meetings in *Freeing God's Children*, 183–236.

45. US Congress, House Committee on International Relations, *Persecution of Christians Worldwide (1996);* Hertzke, *Freeing God's Children*, 187. Elizabeth Castelli has written in detail about the hearings in "Praying for the Persecuted Church: Christian Activism in the Global Arena," *Journal of Human Rights* 4-3 (July–September 2005): 321–351.

46. Winnifred Fallers Sullivan, "Exporting Religion," *Commonweal* 126-4 (February 26, 1999). Sullivan is influenced by Talal Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).

47. Goldberg, "Washington Discovers Christian Persecution." For one activist's reflection on the dangers of political power on this issue, see MirsoslavVolf, "Sheep, Wolves, and Doves," *Christian Century*, December 17, 1997, 198.

48. Hertzke, *Freeing God's Children*, reports that some activists on both sides saw the bill as essentially partisan. "The whole discussion was that 'religious freedom' is the Achilles heel in the Clinton admin. We can defeat Clinton in November 1996 using this."

49. Steven Lee Myers, "Converting the Dollar into a Bludgeon," *New York Times*, April 20, 1997; Thomas Lippman, "Rethinking US Economic Sanctions; State Dept. Weighs Costs, Impact of Trade Restrictions," *Washington Post*, January 26, 1998.

50. Tony Carnes, "Religious Persecution Bill Encounters Stiff Resistance," *Christianity Today*, October 5, 1998.

51. Ken Silverstein, "So You Want to Trade with a Dictator," *Mother Jones*, June 1998.

52. The function and usefulness of the commission was fiercely debated since it was founded. See the rather hostile series of articles in *Christianity Today*: Robert Seiple, "Speaking Out: The USCIRF Is Only Cursing the Darkness," *Christianity Today* web only, October 2002, http://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2002/october-web-only/10-14-31.0.html; Felice Gaer, "Speaking Out: USCIRF's Concern Is to Help All Religious Freedom Victims," *Christianity Today* web only, November 2007, http://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2002/novemberweb-only/11-4-41.0.html.

53. The WEA Religious Liberty Commission News and Analysis e-mail list. The website is http://www.worldevangelicalalliance.com/commissions/rlc/.

54. The specific ads vary month to month and are no longer only focused on adopting a child; but aid, hunger relief, and so on are focused on the persecuted hungry. See http://www.christianfreedom.org/store/most-ugently-needed.

55. For example, Francis Bok, *Escape From Slavery: The True Story of My Ten Years in Captivity and My Journey to Freedom in America* (New York: St. Martins, 2003); Paul Hattaway, China's Christian Martyrs (Oxford, UK: Monarch Books, 2007); or the film *A Cry From Iran*, dir. by Joseph and Andre Hovsepian, 2007. It is also the

case that locating people as being "from" or "of" the global South is an inherently tricky phenomenon, as people often emigrate to the West, where they write as non-Westerners.

56. "To-be-looked-at-ness" is Laura Mulvey's description of the role of women in Hollywood cinema. See her "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," *Screen* 16-3 (Autumn 1975): 6–18.

57. Introduction to Brother Andrew with John and Elizabeth Sherrill, featuring Jars of Clay, *The Narrow Road: Stories of Those Who Walk This Road Together* (Grand Rapids, MI: Revell, 2001), 7.

58. The activist was Steve Hass, US director of the International Day of Prayer for the Persecuted Church, but they went to China and Vietnam with Open Doors and Voice of the Martyrs.

59. Jars of Clay Press release, April 20, 2001, http://www.jarchives.com/jartifacts18.htm. Brother Andrew, *The Narrow Road*.

60. Krishana Kraft, "My Faith Was Shaken," *Campus Life,* March/April 2002, http://www.christianitytoday.com/cl/2002/002/4.32.html. Emphasis in original.

61. David Gushee, "5 Reasons Torture Is Always Wrong," *Christianity Today*, February 2006, http://www.ctlibrary.com/38136.

62. Evangelicals for Human Rights, "An Evangelical Declaration against Torture: Protecting Human Rights in an Age of Terror," *Review of Faith and International Affairs* 5-2 (Summer 2007): 46.

63. The Catholic theologian Scott Appleby made this argument at "Proselytism and Persecution," a conference in Falls Church, VA, October 28, 2005. In 2008 the chair of the commission was an evangelical, Michael Cromartie, of the Ethics and Public Policy Center. Of the two vice-chairs, one was also an evangelical, Richard Land, of the Southern Baptist Convention. The other was lawyer Preeta Bansal, from the board of Human Rights Watch.

64. Steve Mufson, "Christians' Plight in Sudan Tests a Bush Stance: Evangelicals Urge Intervention," *Washington Post,* March 24, 2001; Press Release: Testimony of Michael Young, Commissioner of USCIRF, before a joint hearing of the Subcommittee on Africa and the Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights of the Committee on International Relations of the United States House of Representatives, March 28, 2001, http://www.uscirf.gov/component/content/article/233-ct2001/1984-march-28-2001-qamericas-sudan-policy-a-new-directionq.html. The 2000 report is available at www.purdue.edu/crcs/itemResources/USDoc/pdf/uscirf2001.pdf.

65. John Voll, a leading expert on Sudan, says that the population of South Sudan as of 2006 was probably 70 percent Christian, although many, perhaps most, of these would be described as nominal. Interview with John Voll, May 4, 2006.

66. The British activist Caroline Cox has been an outspoken and often intemperate spokesperson on Sudan. The "jihad warriors" quote is from an interview with her in Wheaton, IL, November 6, 2006. She makes many similar claims in her many books and media interviews, including Caroline Cox and John Marks, *Islam and Islamism: Is Ideological Islam Compatible with Liberal Democracy?* (London: Civitas, 2006); and "Baroness Caroline Cox: The Price of a Slave," *Christianity Today,* February 8, 1999, http://www.ctlibrary.com/2122. Of the many examples in other

media, see Mindy Belz, "More than a Warlord," *World Magazine*, July 21, 2004, http://www.worldmag.com/articles/5186.

67. On the fractured politics of Sudan, including the divisions in the South, see Øystein Rolandsen, *Guerilla Government: Political Changes in Sudan since the 1990s* (Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute, 2005); Ann Lesch, *The Sudan: Contested National Identities* (Oxford, UK: James Currey, 1998); Douglas Johnson, *The Root Causes of Sudan's Civil Wars* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003).

68. On the debate, see Richard Miniter, "The False Promise of Slave Redemption," *Atlantic*, July 1999; Karl Vick, "Ripping Off Slave 'Redeemers': Rebels Exploit Western Efforts to Buy Freedom for Sudanese," *Washington Post*, February 26, 2002.

69. I have interviewed several of these activists at length. Their work was fairly widely covered, especially that of Gloria White-Hammond. For one example of the reporting, see Kimberly Davis, "The Truth about Slavery in Sudan," *Ebony*, August 2001, 37 and 40.

70. Franklin Graham, "Stand Up for Sudan's Christians," *Wall Street Journal*, March 16, 2000.

71. Paul Marshall, "Fundamentalists and Other Fun People: To Know Them Is Not to Despise Them," *Weekly Standard*, November 22, 2004; also Marshall, *Annual Report on Religious Freedom: Testimony before the House International Affairs Committee*, October 6, 2004.

72. Asteris Huliaris, "Evangelists, Oil Companies, and Terrorists: The Bush Administration's Policy toward Sudan," *Orbis* 50-4 (Fall 2006): 709–724.

73. Hertzke, *Freeing God's Children*.

74. Elizabeth Castelli, *Martyrdom and Memory*, 360.

75. Kate Bowman Johnson, "So Much to Sing About," *Sojourners*, November 2005.

Chapter 8

1. East Delhi lies across the river Yamuna almost facing the old Moghul city of Shahjehanabad. The districts of Ghaziabad and Noida are technically part of the neighboring state of Uttar Pradesh but have been absorbed by the expanding urban sprawl of the East.

2. S. P. Singh (Ghaziabad correspondent), "Thief in Garb of Monkey Arrested," *The Pioneer*, May 8, 2001, 3. Local reports and stories in Hindi newspapers like *Hindustan* and *Jansatta* gave more detailed accounts than English national television, which filtered the events through a mix of studio experts and flying visits by reporters.

3. Daily papers like the *Indian Express*, *The Times of India*, and the *Hindustan Times* carried regular reports on this along with television channels.

4. "Monkey Business Getting Out of Hand," *The Hindu*, Delhi edition, May 19, 2001.

5. "The Monkeyman Mystery Deepens," *The Hindu*, May 15, 2001.

6. Though incidents of actual attacks were few, the police spent the entire night attending to distress calls about Monkeyman attacks or sightings. Soon the

English-language papers circulated pictures of human-animal hybrids, some with cyborg-like features.

7. *Report of the IHBAS Study Team on the "Monkey Man" Phenomenon* (mimeo, Institute of Human Behavior and Allied Sciences, Delhi, n.d.).

8. This report, which also suggested that the victims' working-class origins made them particularly susceptible to media effects, was published in 2003. See S. K. Verma and D. K. Srivastava, "A Study on Mass Hysteria (Monkey Men?) Victims in East Delhi," *Indian Journal of Medical Sciences* 57 (2003): 355–360.

9. The interviews took place in July 2007.

10. Anthony Vidler, *The Architectural Uncanny: Essays in the Modern Unhomely* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1994), 167.

11. Gyan Prakash, *Another Reason: Science and the Imagination of Modern India* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999), 140–143.

12. Martin Heidegger, "The Thing," in idem, *Poetry, Language, Thought*, Albert Hofsadter, trans. and intro. (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), 165. Writing in a North American context about media theory's assertions of TV's inherent "placelessness," Anna Mccarthy suggests that the "language of placelessness makes us forget that television is an *object* and, like all objects, it shapes its immediate space through its material form. The term is also quite vague; is placelessness really an adequate description of the range of ways in which we encounter television within spaces of everyday life, from the living room to the departure lounge to the department store?" See her "From Screen to Site: Television's Material Culture, and Its Place," *October* (Fall 2001): 93–111.

13. Parts of the following sections are drawn from my *Pirate Modernity: Delhi's Media Urbanism* (London: Routledge, 2010).

14. A state-produced educational documentary was made mandatory in all commercial film screenings. For a discussion of the politics of state-produced documentary, see Srirupa Roy, "Moving Pictures: The Postcolonial State and Visual Representations of India," *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 36 (2002): 233.

15. Radio broadcasting in the 1950s carefully avoided any film and popular music, promoting "classical" music and promoting a Sanskritized version of Hindi. It was only after its listeners began deserting the national radio network for Radio Ceylon's broadcasts of Hindi film music that popular music was allowed on the national network of All India Radio.

16. Curiously, none of the victims in the primary transcripts of the reports brought up the media. Nor were they asked by the interviewers about the media stories. None of the police station records of May–June 2001 in some of the affected areas that I had access to suggest any media at all among the first reports made at night. The bulk of those affected were working-class people living in modest circumstances in squatter settlements and resettlement colonies.

17. See Sara Ahmed, "The Politics of Fear in the Making of Worlds," *Qualitative Studies in Education* 16-3 (May–June 2003): 377–398.

18. For the pre-Independence period, see Narayani Gupta, *Delhi Between Two Empires, 1803–1931: Society, Government and Urban Growth* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998).

19. The statistics on Delhi are voluminous and often spectral. See the *Delhi Human Development Report* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006).

20. The move was formally initiated by the Indian side. Ford Foundation Archives, NY, box 27, Health Minister, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, to Ford Foundation Representative in India, Douglas Ensminger, January 14, 1956.

21. Mayer had been involved in the design of the experimental town of Radburn in New Jersey. He had also collaborated with Mumford on urban renewal plans. Mayer founded the Housing Study Guild with Lewis Mumford and Henry Wright, to develop personnel for the public housing program in the United States. See University of Chicago, Albert Mayer Papers (hereafter AM Papers), box 38.

22. For Mayer's experience in Chandigarh, see Ravi Kalia, *Chandigarh: The Making of an Indian City* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000). Also AM Papers, box 18, folders 27–33.

23. The pressure in the Indian Parliament was intense. See the speech of MP Mohanlal Saxena calling for an egalitarian city. *Lok Sabha Debates* IX-ii (December 7, 1955), 1728.

24. A major intervention on this count was Bharat Sevak Samaj's *Slums of Old Delhi: Report of the Socio-Economic Survey of the Slum Dwellers of Old Delhi City* (Delhi: Atma Ram and Sons, 1958).

25. *Report on the Relief of Congestion in Delhi*, 2 vols. (Simla: Government of India Press, 1936). The relationship between social space, congestion, and caste community practices is made forcefully in letters written between colonial officials at that time. See Delhi Archives (DA) DA/CC/Home/1930/29B, Sohan Lal, "Improving the Delhi City." For detailed discussions on the Delhi Improvement Trust, see Jyoti Hosagrahar, *Indigenous Modernities* (London: Routledge, 2005); and Stephen Legg, *Spaces of Colonialism: Delhi's Urban Governmentalities* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007).

26. A comprehensive critique of the DIT was undertaken by the post-Independence G. D. Birla Committee, which suggested the need to move on to a "real" plan. See *Report of the Delhi Improvement Trust Enquiry Committee* (Delhi: Government of India, 1951).

27. Ford Foundation, AM Papers 21/29, Albert Mayer to Albert C. Wolf, 1959.

28. Delhi Development Authority (DDA), *Masterplan of Delhi 1962*, 83–85, and *Masterplan of Delhi 1990*, 100–112. For an analysis of the plan's model of "nature," see Awadhendra Sharan, "In the City, Out of Place: Environment and Modernity, Delhi 1860s to 1960s," *Economic and Political Weekly*, November 25, 2006, 4905–4911.

29. This led to immediate land speculation and gradual proliferation of "unauthorized" colonies. See Ashish Bose, "Land Prices and Land Speculation in Urban Delhi 1947–67," in Ashish Bose, ed., *Studies in India's Urbanisation* (Delhi: IEG, 1973).

30. See Bijit Ghosh, "Delhi 1981 AD: Promises for a Heartless City," *Shakti* (journal) (February 1968): pp 19–26. Ghosh, the future director of the School of Planning and Architecture, accurately perceived the segregationist land use policy of the plan and its inability to break with the Lutyens model.

31. For a good survey, see Ananya Roy and Nezar AlSayyad, *Urban Informality: Transnational Perspectives from the Middle East, Latin America, and South Asia* (Oxford: Lexington Books, 2004).

32. See Faye Ginsburg, Lila Abu-Lughod, and Brian Larkin, *Media Worlds: Anthropology on New Terrain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

33. Partha Chatterjee, *The Politics of the Governed: Reflections on Popular Politics in Most of the World* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).

34. The process was not without cruel irony. The long-forgotten document was reprinted by pirate publishers and sold on Delhi's pavements, finding a ready market among anxious residents fearing "nonconformity."

35. The best known of these were those initiated by the environmental campaigner M. C. Mehta, leading to the first of the dramatic judgments in the 1990s on polluting industries in Delhi. See *M. C. Mehta vs. Union of India and Others*, writ petition (C) no. 4677 of 1985.

36. The process began on February 16, 2006. The special committees consisted of nonelected "experts" and judicial officials appointed by the court to advise it. The committees were appointed on March 24, 2006. The main committee was a committee of the Delhi High Court led by Justice Usha Mehra. See http://nangla.freeflux.net/blog/archive/2006/03/30/hc-appoints-judge-to-head-yamuna-monitoring-panel.html (accessed March 25, 2008).

37. Edward Gargan, "New Delhi Journal; and Now, Killer Buses: It's Just Too, Too Much," *New York Times*, June 12, 1993, 4.

38. Arvind Rajagopal, *Politics after Television: Religious Nationalism and the Reshaping of the Indian Public* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

39. My use of the term soundscape is indebted to the work of Emily Thompson. See her *Soundscape of Modernity: Architectural Acoustics and the Culture of Listening in America, 1900–1933* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2002).

40. *Prevention of Environment and Sound Pollution vs. Union of India* (UOI), civil appeal no. 3735 of 2005, judgment on July 18, 2005, by R. C. Lahoti, C.J., and Ashok Bhan. The court mobilized a host of cultural and historical arguments, as well as colonial and postcolonial legal statutes for its judgment. An online copy of the judgment is available at http://www.nlsenlaw.org/air-noise/case-laws/supreme-court/appellants-forum-prevention-of-envn-and-sound-pollution-vs-respondent-union-of-india-uoi-and-anr-decided-on-28-10.2005/ (accessed March 23, 2007). For a good example of civic noise pollution campaigns, see the Mumbai NGO Karmyog's list of resources and campaign material at http://www.karmayog.org/noisepollution/ (accessed May 5, 2007).

41. "Delhi Residents Fume over 'Killer Buses,'" by Krishan Gurusway, Associated Press writer, Associated Press, Wednesday, PM cycle, June 23, 1993.

42. "4-Year Old Boy Run Over by Bus," *The Times of India*, October 2, 2000, 6.

43. "Accident Sparks off Mini Riot," *The Times of India*, September 26, 2000, 7.

44. "Students Go on Rampage after Accident," *The Hindu*, September 21, 2000, 10.

45. See Mark Seltzer, *Serial Killers: Death and Life in America's Wound Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1998).

46. Ian Hacking, *The Taming of Chance* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

47. Lev Manovich, *The Language of New Media* (Cambridge, Mass., and London: MIT Press, 2001).

48. Awadhendra Sharan, "Claims on Cleanliness: Environment and Justice in Contemporary Delhi," in *Cities of Everyday Life, Sarai Reader 02* (Delhi, 2002), 34.

49. See Dinesh Mohan, *The Road Ahead: Traffic Injuries and Fatalities in India* (Delhi: TRIPP, Indian Institute of Technology, 2004). The main reformers focused on the Transport Research and Injury Prevention Programme (TRIPP) at the Indian Institute of Technology in Delhi. The TRIPP group and Mohan in particular have been critical of the city planners' obsession with flyover construction designed to enhance speed. He has successfully pushed for a high-speed bus service with special lanes in Delhi. This is under construction at the time of writing.

50. Two years later, charges were finally filed against the driver, whom Additional Sessions judge Prem Kumar noted could not be charged with culpable homicide but rather with a lesser offense of death caused by negligence. See "Case against Driver in Schoolbus Tragedy, Two Years Later," *The Times of India*, March 5, 2000, 16.

51. Supreme Court of India, *M. C. Mehta vs. Govt of India and others*, delivered December 1, 1998. (Emphasis mine.)

52. Jean Baudrillard, "The Ecstasy of Communication," in Hal Foster, ed., *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture* (Port Townsend, Wash.: Bay Press, 1983), 132.

53. Baudrillard, "The Ecstasy of Communication," 131.

Chapter 9

Certain elements of this chapter have previously been published as A. Etkind, "Stories of the Undead in the Land of the Unburied: Magical Historicism in Contemporary Russian Fiction," *Slavic Review* 68-3 (Fall 2009): 631–658, and "The Tale of Two Turns: *Khrustalev, My Car!* and the Cinematic Memory of the Soviet Past," *Studies in Russian and Soviet Cinema* 4-1 (2010): 45–63. Permission to republish is gratefully acknowledged.

1. Sigmund Freud, "The Uncanny," in his *The Uncanny*, trans. David McLintock (New York: Penguin, 1984), 147–148.

2. Sigmund Freud, "Mourning and Melancholia," in *The Freud Reader*, Adam Philips, ed. (New York: Penguin, 2006), 310–327.

3. Katherine Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies: Reburial and Postsocialist Change* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 42–43.

4. Marianne Hirsch, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Post-Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997).

5. For grand-scale events like the Soviet terror I prefer the concept of catastrophe to the related concept of trauma. Whereas trauma destroys psychological and linguistic mechanisms of individual defense, in and after a catastrophe sociocultural networks of solidarity and insurance also cease to work. For classical studies on trauma and memory, see Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996); and Dominic La Capra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001). For approaches to catastrophe and the postcatastrophic, see Anson Rabinbach, *In the Shadow of Catastrophe: German Intellectuals between Apocalypse and Enlightenment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Moishe Postone and

Eric Santner, eds., *Catastrophe and Meaning: The Holocaust and the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Susan Buck-Morss, *Dreamworld and Catastrophe: The Passing of Mass Utopia in East and West* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2000); and Dorothea Olkowski, "Catastrophe," in Karyn Bell, ed., *Traumatyzing Theory: The Cultural Politics of Affect in and Beyond Psychoanalysis* (New York: Other Press, 2007), 41–66.

6. Avery F. Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 7; Gerhard Richter, introduction to Gerhard Richter, ed., *Benjamin's Ghosts: Intervention in Contemporary Literary and Cultural Theory* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2002), 5. On ghosts of the postsocialist memory, see Istvan Rev, *Retroactive Justice: Prehistory of Post-Communism* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2004); and Heonik Kwon, *Ghosts of War in Vietnam* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

7. Stephen Kotkin, *Armageddon Averted: The Soviet Collapse, 1970–2000* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 182.

8. Walter Benjamin, "Berlin Chronicle," in his *One-Way Street and Other Writings* (London: Verso, 1979), 314.

9. Basing his ideas on *The Serpent and the Rainbow*, by the controversial North American anthropologist Wade Davis (1985), Pelevin told his readers how Haitian secret societies converted humans into zombies by kidnapping them, beating them to death, burying them, digging them out the next day, and selling them as farmhands to plantation owners. "Many zombies were members of the Soviet Union of Writers and, therefore, zombies were described from the inside as well as from the outside." Viktor Pelevin, *Zombifikatsiia*, "День и ночь" (Красноярск), 1994, no. 4; republished in Pelevin, *Relics:* "Раннее и неизданное (Moskva: EKSMO, 2005), 297–334.

10. See gazeta.ru, October 4, 2007, at www.gzt.ru/incident/2007/10/04/223344.html; and vzgliad, October 4, 2007, at www.vz.ru/society/2007/10/4/114639.html.

11. Iofe, *Granitsy smysla* (St. Petersburg: Memorial, 2002), 26.

12. See the recent collection of documents projected ultimately to consist of seven volumes: *Istoriia stalinskogo GULAGa* [The History of Stalin's GULAG], volume 1: *Massovye repressii v SSSR* [Mass Repressions in the USSR], S. Mironenko and N. Werth, eds. (Moskva: ROSSPEN, 2004).

13. In Germany in 1967, the Mitscherlichs offered the similar distinction between "the denial of the past," which had been made already impossible, and "the obsolescence of guilt," which they described as the actual feeling of millions. See Alexander and Margarete Mitscherlich, *The Inability to Mourn* (New York: Grove Press, 1975), 14.

14. Dina Khapaeva and Nikolai Koposov, "Pozhaleite, liudi, palachei. Massovoe istoricheskoe soznanie v postsovetskoi Rossii," at http://www.polit.ru/analytics/2007/11/21/stalinism.html.

15. Leontii Byzov, "Stalin s nami?" *Online vremia novostei*, no. 187 (October 12, 2007) at http.vremia.ru/print/18876.html; "1937 god v pamiati rossiian," *Vserossiiskii tsentr izucheniia obschestvennogo mneniia, press-vypusk* 796 (October 22, 2007).

16. Sarah E. Mendelson and Theodore P. Gerber. "Failing the Stalin Test," *Foreign Affairs* 85-1 (January/February 2006): 2–10.

17. See, for example, Sarah Elizabeth Mendelson and Theodore P. Gerber, "Soviet Nostalgia: An Impediment to Russian Democratization," *Washington Quarterly* 29-1 (2005): 83–96; Maria Ferretti, "Rasstroistvo pamiati: Rossiia i stalinizm" at http://www.liberal.ru/article_print.asp?Num=98; Charles S. Maier, "Heißes und kaltes Gedächtnis: Über die politische Halbwertszeit von Nazismus und Kommunismus," *Transit* 22 (Winter 2001–2002): 153–165; for a reevaluation of this position, see Tatiana Zhurchenko, "The Geopolitics of Memory," at www.eurozine.com/articles/2007-05-10-zhurzhenko-en.html.

18. Bykov's logic of torture is opposed to a more familiar understanding that was articulated by Arthur Koestler in his *Darkness at Noon* (New York: Macmillan, 1941). For Koestler, torture convinces the true believer that the party really wants his confession as another sacrifice for its cause.

19. Andrei Bitov should be credited with the invention of this motif. In his pre-post-Soviet novel *Pushkin's House* (1978), Odoevtsev, a young literary scholar, wishes to undo the Soviet experience by rejecting his father and meeting his grandfather.

20. Aleksandr Filippov, *Noveishaia istoriia Rossii, 1945–2006: Kniga dlia uchitelia* (Moskva: Prosveshchenie, 2007), 90. This book was the subject of several conferences of teachers and heated debates in the press. Despite the public outrage, the presidential administration supported the use of Filippov's book in high schools. Based on these guidelines, the actual textbook for Russian high schools was prepared; in December 2007, the authors declared that they would soften their formulations on the instrumental value of Stalin's purges. According to the Russian press, the composition of this textbook is being overseen by an ideologist of Putin's rule, Gleb Pavlovskii, who stated that "the Soviet Union is a global treasure of social, legal, and existential models." See Pavlovskii, "Predislovie," in Natal'a Kozlova, ed., *Sovetskie liudi: Stseny iz istorii* (Moskva: Evropa, 2005), 4–5.

21. Jo McCormack, *Collective Memory: France and the Algerian War* (Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2007), 6.

22. Interestingly, the recent "Katyn" by Andrzej Waida (2007), which shows the slaughter of thousands of Polish officers by their Russian "allies" in 1940, also refers to *Antigone*. A female character struggles to bury her brother who was murdered by Russians; to earn money for the monument, she sells her hair to a Warsaw theater that needs wigs for their production of *Antigone*.

23. Revisionist readings of Freud's works on mourning, melancholia, and object relations reveal their development toward acceptance of endured, interminable mourning as a nonpathological condition that Jacques Derrida called "midmourning." See Tammy Clewell, "Mourning beyond Melancholia: Freud's Psychoanalysis of Loss," *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association* 52-1 (2004): 43–67; and Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning, and the New International*, trans. Peggy Kamuf (New York: Routledge, 1994). A different approach synthesizes Freud and Walter Benjamin and demonstrates the connection between melancholia and historicism. See Martin Jay, *Refractions of Violence* (New York: Routledge, 2003); David L. Eng and David Kazanjian, eds., *Loss: The Politics of Mourning* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); and Alessia Ricciardi, *The Ends of Mourning: Psychoanalysis, Literature, Film* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2003). In most of these works, the impact of Freud's "reality testing"

on the work of mourning has been taken for granted; what happens to mourning/melancholia in the condition of the uncertain loss and untestable reality has not been explored.

24. "Wolves are the natural enemies of revenants…and tear them up wherever they find them." Paul Barber, *Vampires, Burial, and Death* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 93. Basing his speculation on astrological teachings and Dürer's paintings, Benjamin wrote that melancholy has a particular connection to dogs and stones. See Walter Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, John Osborne (trans.) (London: Verso, 2003), 152, 154.

25. Oleg Kulik was Vladimir Sorokin's coauthor on certain projects. For analysis of this post-Soviet artist-dog, see Mikhail Ryklin, "Pedigree Pal. Put' k anglisikomu dogu," in his *Vremia diagnoza* (Moskva: Logos, 2003), 264–277.

26. Viktor Pelevin, *Empire V* (Moskva: EKSMO, 2006), 208.

27. Reference to count Dracula on p. 352. The affinity between money and vampires was the subject of the classical study by Franco Moretti, "The Dialectic of Fear," *New Left Review* 1-136 (1982): 67–85.

28. Directed by the Kazakhstan-born Timur Bekmambetov for Russian TV in 2004–5, both *Night Watch* and its sequel, *Day Watch*, were very successful among Russians. They have been the subject of several studies. See Stephen M. Norris, "In the Gloom: The Political Lives of Undead Bodies in Timur Bekmambetov's *Night Watch*," at http://www.kinokultura.com/2007/16-norris.shtml; and "Дозор как симптом (под редакцией Б. Куприянова и М. Суркова (Москва: Фаланстер, 2006).

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Chapter 10

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3. Mahmood Mamdani, *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: America, the Cold War, and the Roots of Terror* (New York: Three Leaves, 2004).

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5. For an accessible and perceptive account of Dutch society before and after the assassination of Van Gogh, see Ian Buruma's *Murder in Amsterdam: The Death of Theo van Gogh and the Limits of Tolerance* (New York: Penguin, 2006).

6. For the Dutch texts, past and present, see http://www.wilhelmus.nl/tekst.html.

7. For a report on Mayor Bloomberg's speech, delivered on Governors Island, see Richard Adams's blog at http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/richard-adams-blog/2010/aug/03/michael-bloomberg-ground-zero-mosque. The text of Wilders's speech, delivered on September 11, 2010, is available at his Freedom Party website. See http://www.geertwilders.nl/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1712. Both documents were last accessed on October 12, 2010.

8. See Lizzy van Leeuwen, "Wreker van zijn Indische grootouders: De politieke roots van Geert Wilders," *De Groene Amsterdammer*, September 2, 2009.

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10. Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *Reys-geschrift vande navigatien der Portugaloyers in Oriente and Itinerario, voyage ofte schipvaert van Jan Huygen van Linschoten naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien inhoudende en corte beschryvinghe der selver landen ende zee-custen* (Amsterdam: Cornelis Claesz., 1595–96); Frederick de Houtman, *Spraeck ende woord-boeck, inde Maleysche ende Madagaskarsche talen, met vele Arabisch ende Turcsche woorden* (Amsterdam: Jan Gerritsz. Cloppenburgh, 1603).

11. J. van Amersfoort en W. J. van Asselt, *Liever Turks dan Paaps? De visies van Johannes Coccejus, Gisbertus Voetius en Adrianus Relandus op de islam* (Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum, 1997), 19–23. Benjamin Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad: The Dutch Imagination and the New World, 1570–1670* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 103–6.

12. For Valentijn's comments about Islam quoted here, see his *Oude en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, 5 vols. (Dordrecht. [etc.]: Van Braam, 1724–26), III, ii, 233.

13. Lady Sophia Raffles, *Memoir of the Life and Public Services of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles*, 2 vols. (London: Duncan, 1835), I, 83–84.

14. As it happens some of our best firsthand knowledge of Raffles, in particular his founding of Singapore as a British entrepôt in 1819, comes from the Malay writings of his own admiring part-Tamil interpreter Munshi Abdullah (1796–1854).

15. A sampling of Van Hoëvell's distaste for Islam as a hostile faith lightly worn by half-thinking Indonesian subjects is certainly to be found throughout his *Reis over Java, Madura en Bali in het midden van 1847, uitg. onder toezigt van P.J. Veth*, 3 vols. (Amsterdam: Van Kampen, 1849–54).

16. Louis Couperus, *The Hidden Force*, Alexander Teixeira de Mattos (trans.) and E. M. Beekman, ed. (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1992), 176.

17. For more on such matters and *métissage* in particular, see Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

18. For a short biography of Couperus that points out his deep colonial roots and interest in "Eastern" mysticism, see E. M. Beekman, "The Passatist: Louis Couperus's Interpretation of Dutch Colonialism," *Indonesia* 37 (April 1984): 59–76. It should also be noted that Beekman, rather like the analysts he cited, misunderstood the potential attribution of many of the inexplicable acts witnessed by Javanese and Dutch alike to *jinn*, whose existence is formally acknowledged in Islam.

19. Couperus, *The Hidden Force*, 230.

20. See his *Engineers of Happy Land: Technology and Nationalism in a Colony* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 90–91, 255.

21. These rumors were the subject of one of the first articles by the Orientalist Snouck Hurgronje: C. Snouck Hurgronje, "De laatste vermaning van Mohammed aan zijne gemeente, uitgevaardigd in het jaar 1880 N.C. vertaald en toegelicht," in A. J. Wensinck, ed., *Verspreide geschriften van C. Snouck Hurgronje*, 6 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1923–27), I, 125–44.

22. Michael F. Laffan, "'A Watchful Eye': The Meccan Plot of 1881 and Changing Dutch Perceptions of Islam in Indonesia," *Archipel* 63-1 (2002): 79–108.

23. See, for example, R. A. van Sandick, *In het rijk van de Vulkaan* (Zutphen: Thieme, 1890); and *Leed en lief uit Bantam* (Zutphen: Thieme, 1892).

24. I discuss this at greater length in my book *The Makings of Indonesian Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).

25. His magnum opus remains the two-volume work on that city, partially translated into English as C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century: Daily Life, Customs and Learning of the Moslems of the East-Indian-Archipelago* (Leiden: Brill, 1970 [1931]), 215–92.

26. See, for example, "Soerakarta: Dari Correspondent BB," *Bintang Barat* no. 123, May 31, 1889, 4.

27. Such claims were enunciated in several of his pamphlets, such as ʿUthman b. ʿAbdallah b. ʿAqil, *al-Nasiha al-aniqa li-l-mutalabbisin bi-l-tariqa* ([Batavia]: n.p., n.d.); and *Manhaj al-istiqama fi al-din bi-l-salama* (Jakarta: Maktabat al-Madaniyya, n.d. [reprint of edition of 1890].

28. Sayyid ʿUthman to Snouck Hurgronje, Batavia, 28 Shawwal 1305, in Leiden University Library, ms. Or. 8952. For an account of the uprising see Sartono Kartodirdjo, *The Peasants' Revolt of Banten in 1888: Its Conditions, Course, and Sequel* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1966).

29. Simon Winchester, *Krakatoa: The Day the World Exploded, August 27, 1883* (New York: Harper Collins, 2003), esp. 322–43.

30. For an account of Dutch dealings with the question of pan-Islam in this period, see Jan Schmidt, *Through the Legation Window, 1876–1926: Four Essays on Dutch, Dutch-Indian and Ottoman History* (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaoelogisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1992).

31. Leiden University Library, ms. Or. 7931, 12–13, Snouck Hurgonje, "Brieven van een Wedono-Pensioen" (1891–92), in *Verspreide geschriften van C. Snouck Hurgronje*, A. J. Wensinck, ed., 6 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1923–27), IV-i, 111–248; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, A.W.S. O'Sullivan, trans., 2 vols. (Leyden: Brill, 1906).

32. See Takashi Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion: Popular Radicalism in Java, 1912–1926* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), esp. 61.

33. Daniel van der Meulen, *Hoort Gij de donder niet? Begin van het einde onzer gezagvoering in Indië. Een persoonlijke terugblik* (Franeker: Wever, 1977), 109–12; trans. *Don't You Hear the Thunder? A Dutchman's Life Story* (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 88.

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36. Keith B. Richburg, "From Quiet Teen to Terrorist Suspect: Son of African American Held after Dutch Raid Suspected Muslim Extremist Cells," *Washington Post*, December 5, 2004, PA16.

37. See Lilian Ahlers, "Geen Louis Couperus-huis in Den Haag," Historiek.net, Woensdag, April 14, 2010, at http://historiek.net/actueel/geen-louis-couperus-huis-in-den-haag-3185. Last accessed October 25, 2011.

Contributors

Alexander Etkind is Reader in Russian Literature and Cultural History at Cambridge University. A widely published expert on Russian, Soviet, and post-Soviet culture, he is the author of *Internal Colonization: Russia's Imperial Experience* (Cambridge University Press, 2011) and the earlier *Eros of the Impossible: The History of Psychoanalysis in Russia* (Westview Press, 1996).

Lisbeth Haas is Professor of History and Chair of Feminist Studies at the University of California, Santa Cruz. A specialist on California history and the United States–Mexico borderlands region, she is the editor, most recently, of *Pablo Tac, Indigenous Scholar: Writing on Luiseño Language and Colonial History, c. 1840* (University of California Press, 2011) as well as the author of the award-winning *Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769–1936* (University of California Press, l995).

Andreas Killen is Associate Professor History at the City College of New York in addition to teaching at the CUNY Graduate Center. In 2006 he produced two books, *Berlin Electropolis: Shock, Nerves, and German Modernity* (University of California Press, 2006) and *1973 Nervous Breakdown: Watergate, Warhol, and the Birth of Post-Sixties America* (Bloomsbury, 2006).

Michael Laffan is Professor of History at Princeton University. He is the author of *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia: The Umma Below the Winds* (RoutledgeCurzon, 2003) and *The Makings of Indonesian Islam: Orientalism and the Narration of a Sufi Past* (Princeton University Press, 2011).

David Lederer is Senior Lecturer at the National University of Ireland Maynooth. His recent publications include the well-regarded *Madness, Religion and the State in Early Modern Europe: A Bavarian Beacon* (Cambridge University Press, 2006) and a related article on the history of the emotions, "The Myth of the All-Destructive War: Afterthoughts on German Suffering, 1618–1648," to be found in *German History*, vol. 29 (2011).

Melani McAlister is Associate Professor of American Studies, International Affairs, and Media and Public Affairs at The George Washington University. She is the author of *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and U.S. Interests in the Middle East, 1945–2000* (University of California Press, 2005 [2001]) and coeditor, with R. Marie Griffith, of *Religion and Politics in the Contemporary United States* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

Ronald Schechter is Associate Professor of History at The College of William & Mary. He is the author of *Obstinate Hebrews: Representations of Jews in France, 1715–1815* (University of California Press, 2003) and the translator and editor of *Nathan the Wise by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing with Related Documents* (St. Martin's Press, 2004).

Marla Stone is Professor of History at Occidental College. She is the author of *The Fascist Revolution* (St. Martin's Press, forthcoming 2012) and *The Patron State: Culture and Politics in Fascist Italy* (Princeton University Press, 1998).

Ravi Sundaram is a Senior Fellow at the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS), Delhi. In 2000 he was one of the founders of the Sarai programme and since then has coedited its Sarai Reader series. He is the author of *Pirate Modernity: Media Urbanism in Delhi* (Routledge, 2009) and *No Limits: Media Studies from India* (Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

Charles Walker is Professor of History and Director of the Hemispheric Institute on the Americas at the University of California, Davis. He is the author of *Shaky Colonialism: The Earthquake-Tsunami of 1746 in Lima, Peru and Its Long Aftermath* (2008) and *Smoldering Ashes: Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru, 1780–1940* (1999), both published by Duke University Press.

Max Weiss is Assistant Professor of History and Near Eastern Studies at Princeton University. He is the author of *In the Shadow of Sectarianism: Law, Shi'ism and the Making of Modern Lebanon* (Harvard University Press, 2010) and the translator, most recently, of Samar Yazbek, *A Woman in the Crossfire: Diaries of the Syrian Revolution* (Haus Publishing, 2012).

Index

Note: Page numbers in italic type indicate illustrations.

Abdülhamid II, 209
Abu Ghraib prison, 155–56
Abuladze, Tengis, *Repentance*, 189–90
Académie Française, 34–35
Acherly, Roger, 42
Ackerman, Georg, 10
Adorno, Theodor, 34, 39
Aeschylus, 49
aesthetics, 48–50
Agamben, Giorgio, 191
Ahaheed Amar Chand Sarvodya Vidyalya, 180
Ahmed, Sara, 6–7, 167
Albani, Marcello, *Redenzione*, 127–28
Alessandrini, Goffredo: *Giarabub*, 128; *Noi vivi*, 128
Ali, Ayaan Hirsi, 214
Almirante, Giorgio, 123, 131
American Historical Review (journal), 11
Amnesty International, 140, 151, 155
anatomy and dissections, 15, 17–18
Andriopoulos, Stefan, 96–97
animals, 3, 21–22, 200–201. *See also* monstrous, the
anthropomorphic creatures, 21–22
anti-Semitism, 115, 123
Apachería, 76–77, 84
Areche, Antonio de, 56, 60–62, 70, 72
Areta, Francisco Antonio, 60
Aristotle, 34, 49
Arriaga, Antonio de, 54–55
Asy'ari, Hasyim, 213
?atishwin, 86–87
Auca Indians, 138–39
Augustine, Saint, 137–38, 140

Bachus, Spencer, 159–60
Bähr, Andreas, 30, 32–33
Bakhtin, Mikhail, 24, 191–92
bare life, 191–92, 194
Bargelesi, Alberto, *L'epopea dell'Alcazar*, 246n23
Bashir, Omar, 158
Bastidas, Antonio, 64, 70
Bastidas, Micaela, 54–56, 60, 62–68, 234n35
Baudrillard, Jean, 181
Bauman, Zygmunt, vii, 84, 135
beasts. *See* animals; monstrous, the
Beccaria, Cesare, 46–47, 50, 52, 230n94
Beirut, Lebanon, 4
Benandanti, 22
Benjamin, Walter, 182, 185, 199, 200
Benois, Alexander, 192
Bentham, Jeremy, 47–48, 230n94
Berlin, Isaiah, 3
Berwick, Duke of, 44
Betrügerische Medien (film), 110
Bin Laden, Osama, 202, 211
biological approaches, 2–3
births, monstrous, 23
Bitov, Andrei, *Pushkin's House*, 197, 259n19
Blair, Hugh, 49
Blas Ordaz, Fray, 84
Blood:Water Mission, 161
Bloomberg, Michael, 204
Bodin, Jean, 14, 221n14
body, the, 6–7; Italian Fascism and, 121; pain of, 140; of the persecuted, 133–35, 139–40, 152–56; as repository of fear during Thirty Years War, 11–30, 15; society as analogous to, 11–13, 30
Bolingbroke, Henry St. John, Viscount, 46
Bonhoeffer, Karl, 98, 99, 109
Bono, 161
Bormann, Martin, 111
Bosworth, Richard, 116
Bourke, Joanna, vii, 6
Bouyeri, Muhammad, 214
Breugel, Pieter, 192
Bricaire de La Dixmerie, Nicolas, 42

broadsheets, 18, 21–23, 26–27
Buat, Louis-Gabriel, Comte du, 226n28
Bulgakov, Mikhail, *Heart of a Dog*, 193
Burke, Edmund, 48–49
Burkhardt, Johannes, 30
Buruma, Ian, 214
Bush, George W., and administration, 152, 157, 159
Bush, Luis, 144
Bykov, Dmitrii, 199, 259n18; *Justification*, 188–89, 197
Byzov, Leonid, 188

Cabinet of Dr. Caligari, The (film), 96
Calac Hyde, Villiana, 83
Calas, Jean, 45–46
California. *See* colonial California
Calvin, Jean, 24
Candelin, John, 154
cannibalism, 18, 26, 28
capital punishment, 47, 49–50, 52
Carion, Joachim, *Universal Chronicle* (with Philipp Melanchthon), 14
carnival, 191
Carter, Jimmy, 141
Castelli, Elizabeth, 137, 160
Castellucci, Ezio, 124–27, 129; *Commissario*, 126–27, *127*; *Comrade*, 126, *126*; *The Feast*, 125–26, *125*; *Requisition*, *124*, 125
Castilla, Martín, 66
Catholicism: Dutch attitude toward, 205; evangelical Christianity and, 148–49; Italian Fascism and, 115–16, 119–23, 129–31; and martyrdom, 138; and missions in colonial California, 74–90; and Tupac Amaru Rebellion, 57–72
Catinat, Maréchal de, 45
censorship, of Weimar cinema, 91–93, 95, 98–99, 106, 108–10
Charcot, Jean-Martin, 100
Charlemagne, 14
Charles XII, 41
Chatterjee, Partha, 171
Chaves, Antonio, 67–68
Chávez, Gregorio, 66
China, 136–37, 139, 142, 156
Christian Freedom International, 153
Christianity. *See* evangelical Christianity; persecution of Christians
Christianity Today (magazine), 139, 142, 145–47, 152, 156
Christian Solidarity International, 149, 158–59
Chumash, 82–89
Chumash War, 83–89
Cilegon uprising, 206, 209, 211
cimarrónes, 77
cinema. *See* film
clairvoyance, 101, 105
Clinton, Bill, and administration, 137, 151–52
Cold War, 139–43
colonial California, 74–90
Colossus (drawing), 15, *17*
Colossus (etching), 14, *16*
Colson, Charles, 148
Comanchería, 76
Commission on International Religious Freedom. *See* U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom
communism: as enemy of Italian Fascism, 115–32; as enemy of Weimar Germany, 92, 111; and persecution of Christians, 139, 142
Compass Direct, 153
Condorcanqui Noguera, José Gabriel. *See* Tupac Amaru (pseudonym of José Gabriel Condorcanqui Noguera)
conscription, 25
Consiglio, Alberto, 128
context. *See* historical context
Cooke, Sara Killian, 142–43
Cota, Valentin, 85
counterhypnosis, 109
Couperus, Louis, *Hidden Force*, 208–9, 212, 215
Coyer, Abbé, 42
Creuz, Friedrich Karl Casimir, Freiherr von, 226n28
crime: hypnosis and, 97–99, 109; telepathy and, 105; Weimar cinema and, 96–97
crises: etymology of, 11; fear in relation to, 10–11
Critica Fascista (journal), 118
Cromartie, Michael, 148
culpability, fear as mitigating circumstance for, 58

dance, 81–83
Daniel, Book of, 14–15, 19
Darfur, Sudan, 157
dark space, 164–65

Darnton, Robert, 36, 39
Darwin, Charles, 2–3, 218n6
DC Talk, 134
death penalty. *See* capital punishment
De Certeau, Michel, 162
Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, 31
De Houtman, Frederick, 205
De la Cruz, Fray, 77–78
Delhi, 162–82; crisis of 1990s in, 171–75; experts' role in, 178–80; Master Plan of, 168–73; media in, 165–67, 172–75, 179; Monkeyman panic in, 162–65, 181; noise in, 174–75; planning and construction of, 167–73; statistical explanations in, 177–78; statistical images in journalism in, 177–78; traffic fatalities in, 175–80
Delhi Improvement Trust (DIT), 169
Delumeau, Jean, 21, 32
Del Valle, José, 56
Démeunier, Jean-Nicolas, 47
Derrida, Jacques, 185
Descartes, René, 30, 224n60
Deshoulières, Antoinette, 41
Diderot, Denis, 36, 41, 49
Diego Cristóbal Tupac Amaru, 56, 62, 67–69
difesa della razza, La (magazine), 123
Different from the Others (film), 108
Dios Valencia, Juan de, 62
Di Pretoro, Francesco, 124; *Guerra rivoluzionaria e rivoluzione guerriera*, 118
Döblin, Alfred, 95, 105
dogs, 193
Dostoevsky, Fyodor, 197
Drost, August Christian, 104
Duchamp, Marcel, 200
Duff, William, 49
Dürer, Albrecht, 18
Dutch East India Company (VOC), 168, 204, 205

Echeandía, José María, 79
education, 230n95
Eisenstein, Sergei, *Potemkin*, 195
Elliot, Eric, 83
Elliott, Elizabeth: *Passion and Purity*, 139; *Through Gates of Splendor*, 139
Elliott, Jim, 139
emotionology, 5–6
emotions: Darwin on, 2–3; scholarship on, 5–6, 8
End of the Spear (book and film), 139
enemies, of Italian Fascism, 114–32
Enlightenment: elimination of fear as claim of, vii–viii, 34, 36–39, 53; and terror, 31–53; Weimar Germany and, 105–9, 112
enlightenment films, 106, 108, 112
Erasmus, Desiderius, 204
Erencia, José de, 68
Escalante, Domingo de, 62–64
Etkind, Alexander, ix, 2
evangelical Christianity: Catholicism and, 148–49; and fear, 135–36, 145, 161; global expansion of, 144; and human rights, 141–42, 145–47, 155–56; and Islamophobia, ix, 2, 135, 144, 147–48; and persecution, 133–35, 138–61; political activities of, 134, 148–52
"Evangelical Declaration against Torture, An," 156
evolution, 3
executions, 45–47, 49–50, 52
Eyes (film), 99

family, Italian Fascism and, 115–17
Fascism. *See* Italian Fascism
fear: antidotes to, 5; generalized sense of, 8; liquid, 7, 84, 135; as mitigating circumstance, 58; opposites of, 2, 8–9; universalizing of, 3–4
Febvre, Lucien, 5, 6
Feuquière, Marquis de, 44
Filippov, Aleksandr, 189, 259n20
film: factors affecting viewers of, 95–96; Italian Fascism and, 127–32; post-Soviet, 189–90, 192–99; psychological effects of, viii–ix, 92–99, 112–13; Weimar cinema, 91–113
film reform movement, 92–93, 96–98
Fleming, Pete, 139
Ford Foundation, 169
Forgacs, David, 247n44
Fortuyn, Pim, 214
Foucault, Michel, 153
four empires theory, 14
Foxe, John, *Book of Martyrs*, 138
Franco, Francisco, 118–19
François I, 45
Frederick the Great, 36
Freie Presse (newspaper), 108
French Revolution, 31–33
Freud, Sigmund, 185, 190; "The Uncanny," 183

Friedrich V, 24, 26
Friese, Daniel, 10
Friesenger, Marius, *Chronicles*, 10
Furedi, Frank, 7–8
Furetière, Antoine, 34–35, 225n10
future, fear in relation to, vii, 2

Gallegos, Justo, 68
Gallone, Carmine, *Odessa in Fiamme*, 128
Garang, John, 158
Garcia, Lucretia, 86–87, 89
Garcilaso de la Vega, 56, 72
gender, Italian Fascism and, 116
General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century, 11–12, 23, 30
Genina, Augusto, 246n23; *L'assedio dell'Alcazar*, 119–22, 132; *Bengasi*, 128, 246n22; *Lo squadrone bianco*, 246n22
Gentile, Emilio, 116
George II, 41
Gerber, Theodor, 188
German, Alexei: *Khrustalev, mashinu*, 194–99; *My Friend Ivan Lapshin*, 196–97
German, Iurii, 197
Germany: crisis in, 94–95; and enlightenment, 105–9; and fear during Thirty Years War, 10–30; hygiene in, 106–7; Interior Ministry, 98, 100, 102, 107; mass psychology and behavior in, 94–95, 100–111; social order in, 91–92, 105; Weimar cinema in, 91–113
ghosts, 185
Gibbon, Edward, 43–44
Gil y Taboada, 84
Ginzburg, Carlo, 22
global south, Christianity in, 153–55
God: as antidote to fear, 9; doubts about, 30; and human rights, 146–47; and terror, 39–40
Goebbels, Joseph, 92–93, 111, 113, 121
Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 192
Gogh, Theo van, 203, 214
Gogol, Nikolai, 197
Going Together, 200–201
Goycoechea, Felipe de, 78
Graf, Urs, 18
Graham, Franklin, 159
Grams, Rod, 152
Gravelli, Asvero, 128
Grien, Hans Baldung, 18
Grimm Brothers, 192
Grimmelshausen, Hans Jakob Cristoffel, 25
Gross, Daniel M., 218n6
Grossman, Vasilii, *Life and Fate*, 187
Grotius, Hugo, 30, 204–5
GTB Hospital, Delhi, 164–65
Guericke, Otto von, 10
Guibert, Comte de, 44–45
Gunning, Tom, 112
Güntzer, Augustin, 15, 18
Guruswamy, Krishan, 176
Gushee, David, 156
Gustavus Adolphus, 45

Haas, Lisbeth, viii, 5
Hacking, Ian, 99, 178
Haitian Revolution, 73
Hanussen, Erik Jan, 105, 243n62
happiness, 6–7
Haseltine, David, 155, 161
Heidegger, Martin, 165
Hellwig, Albert, 97, 105
Helsinki Final Act (1975), 141
Helvétius, Claude-Adrien, 36, 48–49
Henri IV, 41
Henry, Carl, 146
Hertzke, Alan, 150
Hestenes, Rebecca, 156
Hindu (newspaper), 163, 173, 177
Hindustan Times (newspaper), 173
Hirsch, Marianne, 184
Hirschfeld, Magnus, 108
historical context, 1–2, 6, 8, 32
historiography: Book of Daniel as model for, 14–15; medical analogies in, 11–13; and Tupac Amaru Rebellion, 57, 59
Hitler, Adolf, 91
HIV/AIDS, 161
Hobbes, Thomas, 15, 18, 221n20; *Bohemoth, or The Long Parliement*, 15; *Leviathan*, 15
Hoëvell, Wolter Robert van, 206
Hoffman, E.T.A., 183, 192
Holbach, Paul-Henri-Dietrich, Baron d', 36–38, 50–53
Holocaust, 184
Holy Roman Empire, 14, 24
homosexuality, 108
hope, 2
Horkheimer, Max, 34, 39
Horowitz, Michael, 148, 149
horses, 87–88
House Un-American Activities Committee, 139
human rights, 135, 140–42, 145–47, 155–56

Human Rights Watch, 151
Hume, David, 36, 43, 49
Huygen van Linschoten, Jan, 205
hypnosis: and counterhypnosis, 109; and crime, 97–99, 109; film and, 92, 96–99, 108–9, 112; and mass behavior, 95, 102–4; medical view of, 101–2, 108; public, 100–105, 109; science and, 102–6; war and, 101

Ignacio, Luisa, 86, 88–89
Illustration of the Merciless, Abominable, Cruel and Horrible Beast, 18, *19*
Incas, 54, 56, 72
Indian Express (newspaper), 173
India Today (newspaper), 177
indigenous Californians, 74–90; and dance, 81–83; and fear, 75–77, 80, 83, 85–86, 88–90; power of, 74, 76, 81, 83; punishment of, 78–79; writing of, 79–80
Institute for Religion and Democracy, 147
Institute of Human Behavior and Allied Sciences (IHBAS), 164–65
Interlandi, Telesio, 123
International Day of Prayer for the Persecuted Church, 149
International Religious Freedom Act (IRFA, 1998), 134, 136–37, 141, 149–53, 156
Iofe, Veniamin, 186
IRFA. *See* International Religious Freedom Act
Islam: persecution of Christians by, 135, 144, 147–48, 154, 157–59; Western ignorance of, 203
Islamophobia: American, 203; cultural functions of, 9, 202–3; Dutch, ix–x, 203–16; evangelical Christianity and, ix, 2, 135, 144, 147–48; history of, 202
Israel, Jonathan, 36
Italian Fascism: characteristics of enemies of, 115–16; enemies fashioned by, 114–32; and film, 127–28; internal enemy of, 117–18; and Soviet Union, 122–32; and Spanish Civil War, 118–21

Jackson-Vanik amendment, 141, 151
Jacob, Margaret, 36
Jansatta (newspaper), 173
Jars of Clay, 155, 161
Jáuregui, Agustín de, 60–61, 70
Javanese pilgrims, *207*
Java War, 206
Jeddah massacre, 206
Jefferson, Thomas, 47
Jesus Freaks, 134
Jesus to the Communist World, 140
Jews, in Soviet Union, 141. *See also* anti-Semitism
John Paul II, Pope, 133
Johnson, Samuel, 230n95
Juan Santos Atahualpa uprising, 71

Kaes, Tony, 95
Kant, Immanuel, 38
Kartodirdjo, Sartono, 211
Keijzer, Salomo, 206, 207
Kenya, 145
Khapaeva, Dina, 187
Khare, V. N., 180
Khrushchev, Nikita, 187
Khryzhanovskii, Ilia, *4*, 192–93
Killen, Andreas, viii–ix, 6
Kipper-und-Wipper inflation, 26
Kirpal, B. N., 180
Kissinger, Henry, 141
Kittler, Friedrich A., 173
Knippers, Diane, 147–48
Koestler, Arthur, 259n18
Koposov, Nikolai, 187
Kotkin, Stephen, 185
Kracauer, Siegfried, 93, 106
Kraepelin, Emil, 98
Kreuzzeitung (newspaper), 92, 96
Kristof, Nicholas, 158
Kuhn, Thomas, 30
Kulik, Oleg, 193

LaCapra, Dominick, 225n10
Landra, Guido, 123
Lang, Fritz, 111; *Dr. Mabuse the Gambler*, 91, 95, 99; *M*, 111; *Die Nibelungen*, 111; *The Testament of Dr. Mabuse*, viii–ix, 91–94, 111–13
law and punishment: in colonial California, 78–79; in Enlightenment Europe, 45–52
Le Bon, Gustave, 95
Le Corbusier, 169
Lederer, David, viii, 5
Leeuwen, Lizzy van, 204
Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm, 43
Leonardo da Vinci, 17
Lerner, Paul, 101
Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim, 49
Lewin, Boleslao, 59
Lewis, Bernard, 147

liberalism, 3–5
Librado Kitsepawit, Fernando, 82
liquid fear, 7, 84, 135
Little Ice Age, 11, 28, 221n14
Locke, John, 46
Lockhart, James, 79–80
Long, Kathryn, 138
López y Sosa, Antonio, 69–70
Louis XIV, 35, 41, 44
Louis XV, 41
Lowenfeld, Leopold, *Suggestion and Its Meaning for the World War*, 100
Luiseños, 80–83
Lukianenko, Sergei, 194
Luna, Juan de, 62–63
Lutyens, Edwin, 173

Macpherson, James, 49
Madison, Joe, 158
Magical Historicism, 200–201
Malaparte, Curzio, 119
Mandelstam, Osip, 192
Mannasser, Hans Jörg, 19
Manovich, Lev, 178
Marcellini, Romolo, *Inviati Speciali*, 128
Marshall, Paul, *Their Blood Cries Out*, 149–50, 159
Martin, Jean-Clément, 33
Martinez, Fray, 84
martyrdom, 133–34, 137–40
Mata Linares, Benito, 60–62, 70, 72
Mayer, Albert, 169, 255n21
McAlister, Melani, ix, 2
Mccarthy, Anna, 254n12
McCully, Ed, 139
McLaren, Brian, 156
Mecca, 206–12
media: in Delhi, 165–67, 172–75, 179; in postcolonial cities, 170–71; statistical images in, 178; technologies of fear in, 166–67
medicine: historiographic analogies drawn from, 11–13; hypnosis and, 101–2, 108
melancholia, 183, 190–91, 195
Melanchthon, Philipp, *Universal Chronicle* (with Joachim Carion), 14
Memorial Society, 186
memory, and fear, 183–84
memory-dread, 184–85
Mendelson, Sarah, 188
Mendoza, Zoila, 82
mentalités, 32
Mercier, Louis Sébastien, *The Year 2440*, 39–40
Mezzofanti, Giuseppe, 80
Micaela Bastidas. *See* Bastidas, Micaela
Michelangelo, 17
military science, 43–45
Milliken, Randall, 74
Mirabeau, Comte de, 42
missionaries, 138–39, 144. *See also* evangelical Christianity
missions, in colonial California, 74–90
Monck, George, 43
Monkeyman, 162–65, 181
monstrous, the, 12–13, 15, *16*, *17*, 18–28, *19*, *20*, 183, 185, 199–201
Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de La Brède et de, 36
monuments, 183, 185
Moral Majority, 146, 161
Moretti, Franco, 194
Moscardo (colonel), 120
Moscoso y Peralta, Juan Manuel, 55, 57, 59–63, 70
Mother Jones (magazine), 152
mourning, 183, 190–91, 195
Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru, 57
Mrázek, Rudolf, 209
Mumford, Lewis, 255n21
Muñoz, Fray, 75–77
Muslims. *See* Islam; Islamophobia
Mussolini, Benito, 117–18, 123, 127, 131–32

Nabokov, Vladimir, *Gift*, 197
Nadir Shah, 168
National Association of Evangelicals, 148
National Association of Manufacturers, 152
National Convention (France), 31, 33
National Foreign Trade Council, 152
National Socialism, 93, 111
Neff, David, 156
Nehru, Jawaharlal, 169
neorealism, 247n44
Netherlands, Islamophobia in, ix–x, 203–16
New Unheard-of Transmutation, 24, *25*
New York Times (newspaper), 173
Nickels-Lieberman bill, 151–52
Nietzsche, Friedrich, *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, 193
Night Watch (film), 194

Nixon, Richard, 141, 151
Noguera, Andrés, 64, 67
Nyoike, Kimani wa, 145

Obama, Barack, 203
ONE campaign, 161
Open Doors, 140, 143, 153
Orléans, duc d', 41
Ossian, 49
Oswald, Richard, 108
Ottoman Empire, 28

Padri War, 206
pain, 140
Parker, Geoffrey, 11, 220n5, 221n14
Parker, Martin, *Briefe dissection of Germaines Affliction*, 18
past, fear of the, 183, 186–87
Paul, Saint, 28
Pelevin, Victor, 186, 199, 258n9; *Empire V*, 193–94; *Holy Book of Revenant*, 193
persecution of Christians, 133–61; Cold War and, 139–43; fear and, 135–36; historical context of, 137–40; and human rights, 135, 140–42, 145–47; Islam and, 135, 144, 147–48, 154, 157–59; legislation concerning, 136–37; political activism concerning, 134, 148–52; spectacle of, 133–35, 139–40, 152–56
Persecution.org, 153
Peru, 54–73
Petronius, 37
philological approach, 1–2
physiology, 3
Pioneer (newspaper), 163, 173
Plamper, Jan, vii
Pocs, Eva, 22
Polevoi, Boris, *Tale of a Real Man*, 193
Pollaiuolo, Antonio, 15, 17
Pompadour, Madame de, 41
postmemory, 184
post-Soviet culture, 185–201; art in, 189–201; public memory in, 187–89
Prakash, Gyan, vii
present, fear in relation to, vii, 2
priests, and Tupac Amaru Rebellion, 62–72
Prima Mostra degli Artisti Italiani in Armi (First Exhibition of Italian Soldier-Artists), 124–25
print medium, 17–18, 21
Proctor, Robert, 105
Protestantism, in Renaissance era, 14, 17, 21, 24
Pufendorf, Samuel, 43; *De statu Imperii Germanici*, 12–14, 30
punishment. *See* law and punishment

Qaeda, al-, 211, 213
Quelli della montagna (film), 128
Qur'an, 9

race: Italian Fascism and, 115, 121–23, 129–30; persecution of Christians and, 159
Radicati, Alberto, 36
Raffles, Thomas Stamford, 206
Rashtriya Sahara (newspaper), 173
Reddy, William, 5
Reich Committee for Hygiene Education (RAHV), 107–8
Reign of Terror, 31
religion: as check on behavior, 50, 53; in Delhi, 174; Enlightenment view of, 35–40, 50–51; freedom of, 134, 136–37, 141, 147; and terror, 35–40
Renaissance, fear during, 32
Republican Party, 152
Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685), 35
Revzin, Grigorii, 200
Ripoll, Fray, 85
Robespierre, Maximilien, 33, 52
Robin, Corey, 72
Rodrigues y Avila, Carlos, 64–65
Romania, 139
Rosenwein, Barbara, 5
Rossellini, Roberto: *La nave Biance*, 128; *Una pilota ritorna*, 128; *L'uomo dalla croce*, 128–32, 247n44
Rothberg, Michael, 196
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 36, 39, 52
Roxas, Hermenegildo, 64
Rudolf II, Holy Roman Emperor, 14
rumor, 165
Russia, 156, 185–201. *See also* Soviet Union

Sad Complaint of the Poor, 26, *27*, 28
Saint, Nate, 139
Salazar y Rospigliosi, Pedro, 69
Sandhya Times (newspaper), 173
Sandick, R. A. van, 209
Sarría, Fray, 84
Saudi Arabia, 137, 152
Scarry, Elaine, *The Body in Pain*, 140

Schaeffer, Frances, 147
Schechter, Ronald, viii, 4
scholarship on fear, 1–9, 32
Schrenk-Notzing, Albert von Freiherr, 101–5
Schulz, William F., 137
science: film censorship and, 109–10; and hypnosis, 102–6; popular fascination with, 105–6
Selim II, Ottoman Emperor, 14
Sepoy Rebellion, 206
sexuality, Italian Fascism and, 116
Shakur, Tupac, 57
Shalamov, Varlam, 191–92
shamanism, 81, 83, 86–87
Shank, J. B., 11–12
Sharan, Awadhendra, 179
Shari'a law, 147, 157
Sharov, Vladimir, 199; *Then and Before*, 200
Shea, Nina, 151; *In the Lion's Den*, 149
Shklar, Judith N., 3–5
Shryock, Andrew, 9
Siberian Seven, 141
Sider, Ron, 156
Singh, Malavika, 173
Siniavskii, Andrei, 192
Skinner, Quentin, 1–2
slavery, 73, 157–59
Smith, Chris, 150
Snouck Hurgronje, Christiaan, 210–12
socialism, as enemy of Italian Fascism, 117–18
Solares, Maria, 86–89
Solis, Pedro, 69
Solzhenitsyn, Alexander, *The Gulag Archipelago*, 141, 187, 199
Sontag, Susan, 133
Sophocles, *Antigone*, 189, 259n22
Sorokin, Vladimir, 192–93, 199; *Blue Fat*, 200
Southern People's Liberation Army (SPLA), 157–59
South Sudan, 157–59, 252n65
Soviet terror: artistic interpretations of, 189–201; current official view of, 189, 259n20; historical allegories and, 199–201; physical evidence of, 186; public memory of, 187–88; suppression of information in, 191
Soviet Union: as enemy of Italian Fascism, 122–32; and human rights, 141; Jews' emigration from, 141; persecution of Christians in, 139–40, 142; religion after Cold War in, 143; Supreme Military Tribunal, 186. *See also* Russia; Soviet terror
Spackman, Barbara, 130
Spanish Civil War, 118–21
Spinoza, Benedictus de, 2
Stackhouse, Max, 146–47
Stafford, Tim, 145–46
Stalinism. *See* Soviet terror
statistics, journalistic use of, 177–78
Stearns, Carol Z., 5
Stearns, Peter, 5
Stein, Clarence, 169
Stoker, Bram, 194
Stoler, Ann, 207–8
Stone, Marla, ix, 4
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), 141
Stump, Peter, 22
sublime, 48–49
Sudan, 133, 135, 136, 152, 156–60
Sudan Peace Act (2002), 157
suffering, 137–40, 142–43, 150–51, 153–54, 160–61, 249n25
Sufis, 210–12
suggestion, psychological, 95–100
suicide, 26–27
Sukarno, 213
Sundaram, Ravi, ix, 4
supernatural abilities, of indigenous Californians, 87–88
superstition, 36–38
Sveshnikov, Boris, 191–92

Tac, Pablo, 80, 89
Tapia, Buenaventura, 66
Tapia, José Antonio, 65
Tarde, Gabriel, 95
Tatar, Maria, 100
Tavazzi, Alberto, 129
Taylor, Charles, 5
telepathy, 101, 105
television, viewer's experience of, 165, 254n12
10/40 Window, 144, 147–48
Terciopelo, Asencio, 65
terror: aesthetics of, 48–50; constructivist view of, 32; contemporary, 31–32; criticisms of, 35–36; definitions of, 34–35; Enlightenment and, 31; French Revolution and, 31–33; and instruction, 230n95; and

law and punishment, 45–48; and military science, 43–45; monarchs and nations as, 40–43; as objective, 32; positive valuation of, 31–35, 39–40; and tyranny, 35–38
Tertullian, 134
texts, 185
Thirty Years War, 10–30
Thompson, Emily, 174
Tibet, 136
Tilly, Johann Tserclaes, Count of, 22
Time (magazine), 203
Times of India (newspaper), 173, 176
Tocqueville, Alexis de, 59
Toland, John, 35–36, 42
Toledo, Francisco, 54
translatio imperii, 14, 221n13
traumatic realism, 196
Treatise of the Three Impostors, 37
Treitel, Corinna, 101
Tupac Amaru (historical figure), 54
Tupac Amaru (pseudonym of José Gabriel Condorcanqui Noguera), 54–56, 57, 59–60, 65–71, 234n35
Tupac Amaru rebellion, viii, 54–73
Tupamaros, 57
Turner, Victor, 21
typhus, 28
tyranny, 35–38

UFA (film company), 108, 111
Unanticipated Deliberation, 13–14
uncanny, the, 183, 185, 190
Union Misbirth, The, 23–24
United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 140
universalism, 3–4
unjustified repressions, 187
USA Engage, 152
U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, 136, 152, 252n64
U.S. Congress, 150–51
U.S. Senate, 139, 151
U.S. State Department, 136, 151–52, 156
'Uthman bin 'Aqil, Sayyid, 210–11
utilitarianism, 47–48

Valentijn, François, 205
vampires, 193–94
Van der Bijl, Andrew: *God's Smuggler*, 140, 155; *The Narrow Road*, 155
Van der Lubbe, Marinus, 243n62
Vargas de la Daga, Baltazar, 68–69
Vasari, Giorgio, 15
Veledinskii, Aleksandr, *The Living*, 189–90
Verdery, Katherine, 183
Verdonk, Rita, 214
Verlorene Ich, Das (film), 108–9
Vesalius, *Fabric of the Human Body*, 17
Vidler, Anthony, 164–65
viral media phenomena, 166
Voetius, Gisbertus, 205
Voice of the Martyrs (VOM), 134, 140, 143, 149, 150, 153
Voltaire, 36, 37, 41, 43, 46–47, 49

Wagner-Jauregg, Julius, 98
Waida, Andrzej, "Katyn," 259n22
Walker, Charles, viii, 6
Wallenstein, Albrecht von, 26
Wall Street Journal (newspaper), 148
Walpole, Horace, 49
Waoroni tribe, 138–39
war, 43–45
War of Symbols, The, 19–21, *20*
Washington Office on Africa, 158
Weimar cinema: anxiety about, 94–95, 106, 111, 113; censorship of, 91–93, 95, 98–99, 106, 108–10; and crime, 96–97; and enlightenment, 106–9, 112; and hypnosis, 96–99, 108–9, 112; positive valuation of, 106–7, 111, 113; reform of, 92–93, 96–98
Weiss, Max, 114
werewolves, 21–22
Wheatcroft, Andrew, 28
White-Hammond, Gloria, 158
Wilders, Geert, 203–4, 214
William III, 41
Winchester, Simon, 211
Winter, Alison, 107
Wolf-Specter bill, 151–52
Wood, Stephanie, 79
World Evangelical Alliance, 153–54
Wright, Henry, 255n21
Wunderkammer, 21, 222n32
Wurmbrand, Richard, 139–40

Yepes, Gregorio de, 66–67
Yokuts, 75–77, 83–84, 86
Youderian, Roger, 139

Zeldin, Theodore, 5
zombies, 186

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